A History of Buncombe County North Carolina

BY

F. A. SONDLEY, LL.D.

Two Volumes in One

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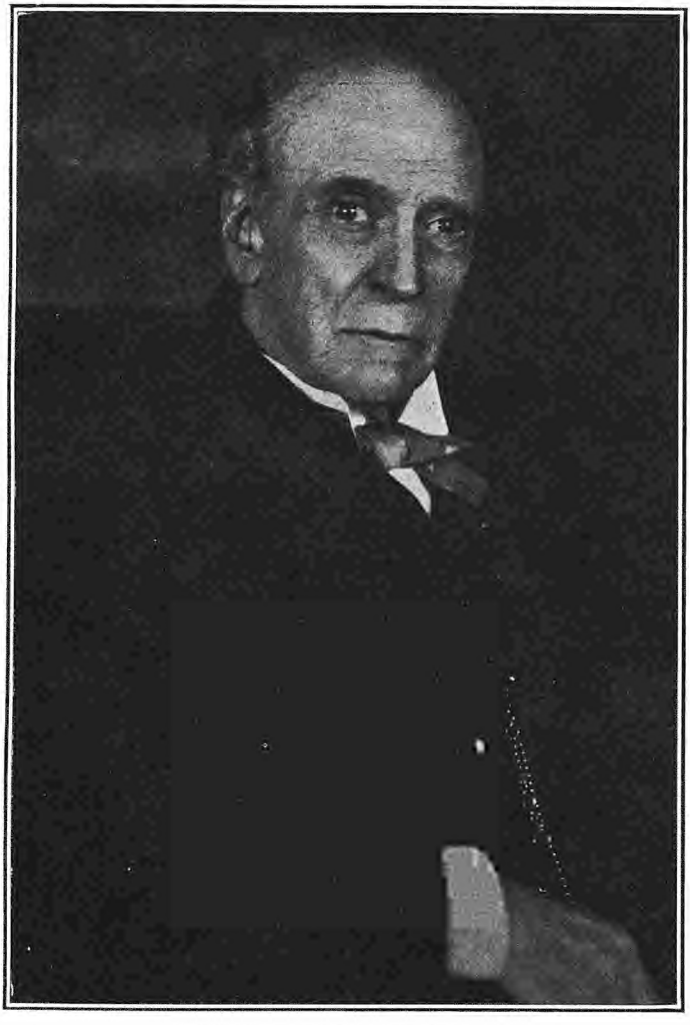

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ILLUSTRATIONS

"Nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice."

SHAKESPEAR—OTHELLO, act 5, sc. 2, ll. 342, 343.

"Horatio, thou are e'en as just a man
As e'er my conversation coped withal."

SHAKESPEAR—HAMLET, act 3, sc. 2, ll. 59, 60.

"Ev'n then a wish, (I mind its power,)
A wish that to my latest hour
Shall strongly leave my breast;
That I for poor old Scotland's sake,
Some usefu' plan or buke could make,
Or sing a sang at least."

BURNS—Answer to Verses Addressed to the Poet by the Guidewife of Wauchope-house, (1787).

ASHEVILLE, N. C.
1930

Published by
THE ADVOCATE PRINTING CO.

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FOREWORD

No other person so much realized that the history of Buncombe County should be preserved in book form as did Doctor Foster Alexander Sondley. Early in his life he began to collect materials for such a history. Being a close observer he gathered pertinent facts from books and from all other available sources of information. As an aid in making the collection he had one of the largest and best selected private libraries in the South.

Doctor Sondley had an unusually keen intellect. He also had the means to enable him to devote much leisure to research and careful study. Thus he developed into an eminent scholar.

His readiness to share the fruits of his ripe scholarship was shown by his seeking the association of the brightest minds within the range of his acquaintance and by his conversing with them on a wide field of important subjects. In this way it was ascertained that a man, who had been born and developed in Buncombe County, possessed rare literary attainment.

On Monday, June 13, 1927, the Board of Education of Buncombe County, because of his particular fitness, elected Doctor Sondley Historian of Buncombe County. When he was given notice of his election, he replied that, if given the hearty co-operation of both the Board of Education and the Board of Commissioners of Buncombe County in influencing others to help and in furnishing the means properly to carry on the work, he would give the best he had to the service. He emphatically stated that he would not accept any remuneration for his services as historian. After getting the promise of the aid and support that he had requested, he accepted the position.

With the teachers of the public schools of Buncombe County as a nucleus a historical society was organized. Doctor Sondley was elected president of the organization and he served in that capacity until his death.

At first the Buncombe County Historical Society met once each month, later meetings were held once every two weeks. Carefully prepared manuscripts giving some phase

of this history of the county were presented and read at each meeting. These papers were written by the president and others. Before filing these historical documents, Doctor Sondley carefully examined them and made such correction as was deemed necessary. This collection of material continued for more than two years.

Doctor Sondley showed his zeal in the undertaking by attending every meeting of the Historical Society until forced to stay away because of a serious accident. Even then he invited the other members of the society to meet with him at his home, Finis Viae, which they did.

Prior to the time of Doctor Sondley's accident, the Superintendent of Buncombe County schools discussed with him the desirability of securing some one to write the first of a series of books giving a complete history of Buncombe County. By way of suggestion it was made clear to Doctor Sondley that it was the opinion of the Historical Society that no other one was, or could be as well equipped for the task as he himself. During the Doctor's convalescence, much to the surprise and the gratification of the Superintendent, it was revealed that the major portion of the manuscript for two volumes of the history of Buncombe County was already prepared.

As the work on the remainder of the manuscript progressed plans were started to put the history into book form. Accordingly a delegation from the Historical Society presented to a joint meeting of the Board of Commissioners of Buncombe County and the Commissioners of the City of Asheville, the reasonableness of all the people of the County and City aiding in the production of the history. At length a contract was signed for the publication of five hundred copies each of the two volumes.

The work of production was halted by the loss of County and City funds. Then Mr. Fred L. Weede, as a representative of the Chamber of Commerce, worked out a plan for selling a sufficient number of paid-up subscriptions to furnish the means for the completion of the books. Mr. Weede also secured the services of Honorable William J. Cocke for the purpose of organizing a group of citizens, whose ancestors had contributed largely in making the history of Buncombe County, to carry out the plan.

The success of the project makes it possible for the Chamber of Commerce and the Council of the City of Asheville, and the Board of Commissioners, the Board of Education and the Historical Society of Buncombe County, to present to the public, Doctor Foster Alexander Sondley's history of his people.

Grateful acknowledgement is hereby made to all persons who have aided Doctor Sondley in the production of this history.

Soon after the death of Doctor Sondley, Friday, the seventeenth day of April, 1931, in his seventy-fourth year, it was made public that he had very much augmented his priceless benefaction, by willing to the City of Asheville his magnificent library, other valuable collections, and the major portion of his estate estimated at about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The portion of the estate given to the City was to be used in providing more books to supplement the number already bequeathed.

Thus ended the career of a strong man who had given the best that was in him to his own people.

A. C. REYNOLDS,
President of the Buncombe County Historical Society.

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PREFACE

For many years the author of this book has hoped to see a history of Buncombe County. For many years that hope has been disappointed. At last he came to the same conclusion as the farmer in Aesop's Fables whose harvest had awaited the help of his neighbors that, if you wish to have anything done to your satisfaction, you must do it yourself. The result of that conclusion on the author's part is this book. To those of his readers whom the work may not please, he ventures to suggest the same conclusion of Aesop's farmer. It is not meant by this that the book is satisfactory to its maker. Urgency of some fellow workers impelled him to a task which he would gladly have left to them could he have persuaded them to accept the fable's teaching. Failing in that he assumed a duty for the successful discharge of which he felt incompetent. In that endeavor he has done his best, and would gladly suppose that the result is more pleasing to others than to himself. It is his conviction that every history should plainly show that it is only a part of the world's history and enable the reader to clearly perceive that its facts are the outgrowth of many other facts and what other facts explain and are intimately connected with those that relate most closely to the narrative which he is perusing. A history of America would scarcely be worthy of the name if it ignored the events of the Eastern World which led to the discovery and settlement of America by peoples and races who for centuries had been ignorant of a Western World. The writer hopes that, in his earnest endeavor to enable the reader to readily comprehend any occurrence narrated, he has not given too much time to a presentation of whatever principally produced that occurrence and of whatever contributed to cause that occurrence to be just what it was. Too much particularity in such a matter is better than obscurity. One who wishes to know about Buncombe County would like to know just what it was under every claimant and what it would have been had that claimant's assertion of right and control been finally sustained.

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For the same reason of clearness, even repetition of facts already stated has been ventured on when, after those facts had been invoked for the understanding of one matter, they became important for the understanding of another matter. Often their bearing on the new matter would not be known if they were not repeated and some new phase of them might have escaped attention or even the facts themselves might have been forgotten.

The plan was to include a separate treatment also of the different sections of the county. Appeals to the sections for necessary materials elicited little response. To the importance of this will come an awakening. But not now. Then a revisor of this work may collect the facts and combine them into a systematic and critical narrative without which the county's story is a mere fragment. Histories are in their nature things of accretion, collocation, evolution, and development. But a first incoherent attempt is the prerequisite to a consistent production.

To my housekeeper, Mrs. Virginia B. Masters, who, when unable to rise from a sick-bed, I was working on this history, brought to me from my library the books which my labors required and thereby contributed to the production of these volumes, I return my thanks and gladly express my obligations. To every one, whether member of the Buncombe County Historical Society or not, who has given assistance in securing the publication of this work I tender my thanks for that assistance. The preparation of the manuscript by me has been a work of gratuity on my part to the Buncombe public. For that work I have received and am to receive no compensation whatever. Nor have I received nor do I expect to receive any consideration in connection with its publication or sale. It is to be published by the Buncombe County Historical Society with the aid of the Asheville Chamber of Commerce and of the Commissioners of the County of Buncombe, and of the Commissioners of the City of Asheville.

It cannot be expected that all the writer's views, especially on political or religious subjects, will be accepted by all readers. No more can it be expected that the writer will misrepresent his own views out of complacence to any one or refrain from freely expressing his views when

the occasion for such expression arises. He has stated his conclusions with candor and he thinks with understanding and fairness. If those who differ from him are equally informed and fair, he will have no more right to object to their conclusions being made for themselves than they have to complain of his open declaration of the truth as it appears to him after a full investigation of the subject of discussion. He did not write the book in order to suppress his opinions. If these are unwelcome to the reader he is under no compulsion to pursue a perusal of them, or to accept anything which honestly he deems inaccurate. In the worship of the rising sun the author has never forgotten the grandeur of the sunset.

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CHAPTER I

INDIAN CLAIM

The Buncombe Country and all the present Western North Carolina, when they first became known to white people, (except a Shawanotown at the mouth of Swannanoa River), were claimed by the Cherokees whose territory for residence or hunting extended into what are now central North Carolina, northern South Carolina, northern Georgia, northern Alabama, eastern Tennessee and western Virginia. These Cherokees have been called by various names and traced to different origins and diverse primitive homes. Indeed they seem to have been a loose combination of tribes or parts of tribes, at different times coming from different portions of eastern North America, who had migrated to the mountainous parts of Western North Carolina and adjoining regions and there become, throughout some centuries, assimilated until they had reached that stage of Indian association vaguely termed "a nation," with shifting boundaries, differing languages, and little cohesion or unity of action or government, yet often known by a common name and treated as a single people. A pre-Indian occupation of North America, often asserted by archaeologists and doubted by other archaeologists, is not clearly established. "There is a dim but persistent tradition of a strange white race preceding the Cherokee, some of the stories even going so far as to locate their former settlements and to identify them as the authors of the ancient works found in the country. The earliest reference appears to be that of Barton in 1797, on the statement of a gentleman whom he quotes as a valuable authority upon the southern tribes. 'The Cherakee tell us, that when they first arrived in the country which they inhabit, they found it possessed by certain "moon-eyed people," who could not see in the day time. These wretches they expelled.' He seems to consider them an albino race. Haywood, twenty-six years later, says that the invading Cherokee found 'white people' near the head of the Little Tennessee, with forts thence down the Tennessee as far as Chickamauga creek. He gives the location of three of these forts. The Cherokee made war against

them and drove them to the mouth of Big Chickamauga creek, where they entered into a treaty and agreed to remove if permitted to depart in peace. Permission being granted, they abandoned the country. Elsewhere he speaks of this extirpated white race as having extended into Kentucky and probably also western Tennessee, according to the concurrent traditions of different tribes. He describes their houses, on what authority is not stated, as having been small circular structures of upright logs, covered with earth which had been dug out from the inside.

"Harry Smith, a halfbreed born about 1815, father of the late chief of the East Cherokee" (Nimrod Jarret Smith), "informed the author that when a boy he had been told by an old woman a tradition of a race of very small people, perfectly white, who once came and lived for some time on the site of the ancient mound on the northern side of Hiwassee, at the mouth of Peachtree creek, a few miles above the present Murphy, North Carolina. They afterward removed to the West. Colonel Thomas, the white chief of the East Cherokee, born about the beginning of the century, had also heard a tradition of another race of people who lived on Hiwassee, opposite the present Murphy, and warned the Cherokee that they must not attempt to cross over to the south side of the river or the great leech in the water would swallow them. They finally went west, 'long before the whites came.' The two stories are plainly the same, although told independently and many miles apart."[1] From 1828 to 1866 accounts of graves containing skeletons of diminutive human adults occasionally appeared. These skeletons were reported to have been found in Tennessee and Kentucky.[2]

The Cherokees had so many conflicting stories told in regard to their early history that the conclusion must be reached that these stories relate to different tribes who combined in the formation of that people. The tradition in regard to them which seems to bear the earliest date is that of the Delawares as given in 1819 by John G. E. Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary among the Indians of Penn-

[1]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 22-23.
[2]Ashton's Curious Creatures in Zoology, 29-31; 1 Archaeologia Americana, 1828, 242 note; Flint's Geography, 1833, 344; 2 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 285.

sylvania and Ohio. It is to this effect: The Delawares were advancing from the west when their progress was checked by a powerful people by the name of Allegewi or Tallegewi on Ohio River. In the war which followed these Allegewi defended their country with great bravery and skill, erecting in their efforts earthern fortifications behind which to resist the invaders. When the Delawares were unable to overcome these people, they called in the aid of the "Mengwe" or Iroquois and, after many years of fighting, vanquished the Allegewi who retired to the south while their country was divided between their assailants, the "Mengwe" taking the portion about the Great Lakes and the Delawares the parts which lay to the east and south. The river was called by the conquerors from these whom they had expelled Allegewi Sipu, river of the Allegewi or Allegheny. The earthworks near Lake Erie which Heckewelder saw in 1789 he was told were fortifications built for defensive purposes in this struggle by these expelled people, hundreds of whom were said to have been buried under two of these earthworks in the neighborhood of Sandusky.

The Allegewi were said to have been of gigantic stature. These were the Cherokees. Allegewi or Tallegewi is a Delaware word having reference to a cave or hole in the ground, possibly because the Cherokees fought behind earthwork fortifications. "Name, location and legends combine to identify the Cherokees or Tsalika with Tallike; and this is as much evidence as we can expect to produce in such researches," says D. G. Brinton.[3] The Cherokees were called by the northern Indians "Cavedwellers."[4]

At the end of this long war for the possession of the country north of the Ohio and to the east, the Allegewi, Tallegewi, Talega, or Tallike, as the name is variously Englished, went south and found new homes in the mountains near the Koweta or Creeks; and for years after the white man's first appearance on the scene, the Delawares made raids, in war parties, against Cherokees and Creeks. The tradition thus preserved by the Delaware Indians of the early residence and migration of the Cherokees, is identical with

[3]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 17-19; Brinton's Lenape and Their Legends, 231; Heckewelder's Indian Nation, Reichel's edition, 1876, 47-50; J. W. Dawson's Fossil Men, 1880, 64-65; Loskiel's Mission Among the Indians, LaTrobe's translation, 1794, 124-127; Egle's History of Pennsylvania, 1877, 19-24.
[4]A. S. Gaschet's Migration Legend of the Creeks, 1884, 28.

that obtained in 1802 from the Wyandots, who relate substantially the same story and name these Cherokees as the expatriated people. They say that the ancient earthworks in the valley of the Ohio were fortifications which the Cherokees, before their expulsion, erected in this long contest for the possession of that country.[5]

With these statements accord meagre traditions of the Cherokees themselves. These traditions indicate that it was at the conclusion of this extended struggle when the settlements of the Cherokees in the mountains at the sources of the Little Tennesse River were made. One of these traditions of the Cherokees is that they came at first from the west and exterminated the former inhabitants and erected in the upper parts of the Ohio country the famous mounds on Grave Creek below Wheeling, West Virginia. Thence they removed to where Monticello is situated near Charlottesville, Virginia, where in 1782 there existed a noted burial mound containing about a thousand disjointed skeletons which had obviously been for a period of many years the cemetery of an Indian town whose site on some hills across the Rivanna River could then be identified. This mound was visited in 1752 by a party of Indians who spent some time there and then disappeared as mysteriously as they had come. A similar mound was then near Staunton in the valley of the Shenandoah and others in the same region were known to exist.[6] In 1846 a prominent chief of the Cherokees declared that his people had, at one time, dwelt near the Peaks of Otter, somewhat west of Lynchburg, in Virginia and near the point at which the Staunton River passes through the mountains. John Haywood, the first historian of Tennessee, after a careful examination of the traditions and other evidences bearing upon the original home of the Cherokees, concluded that the earliest remains in Tennessee were the work of a people who had come into the land from the south and southwest many years before the arrival of the Cherokees and who had been overrun and exterminated by the latter when they entered the country from the north at a period comparatively recent. He deemed it an established fact that the Cherokees came from

[5]Brinton's Lenape and Their Legends, 140-144, 229-231, 165-166, 16-18, 13.
[6]Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, 1803, 100-103; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee. 1902, 20-21.

Virginia where they had made temporary settlements on Holston and New Rivers but had left these under repeated invasions of the hostile northern Indians and transferred their homes to the Little Tennessee. These new homes afterwards were known as the Middle Towns. Of these, says Haywood, Chota or Echota "claimed to be the eldest brother in the nation" and was so esteemed. Chota was one of the Overhill towns and not a town of the Middle Towns. A leading Cherokee of mixed blood told Haywood that the first settlement of his people in their modern homes was on the Nollichucky River where they had lived for a long time. The "Watauga Old Fields," where is now Elizabethton in eastern Tennessee were so called because the first whites who located there about 1769 found in the bottom lands graves and plentiful indications of an ancient Indian town which tradition ascribed to the Cherokees whose settlements were then many miles to the south.[7] On the Tennessee River the Cherokees found few people at their arrival. There were some Creeks at the mouth of Hiwassee River. These formed an alliance with the Cherokees in the war which the latter were then waging against the Shawanoes, but treacherously aided the enemy. When this treachery became known to the Cherokees they were celebrating one of their national festivals at Chota. Suddenly falling upon the unsuspecting Creeks, they cut them off. This brought on a war between the two nations which ended in the abandonment by the Creeks of all their settlements on the Tennessee. The Cherokees were thus left in possession of the country on the Tennessee. But still they pressed their conquests against this enemy and advanced as far as the great Creek Path and crossed over to Coosa. The Creeks had a large settlement on an island in that river and the invaders, by stratagem, drew those people, in a fleet of canoes, to the bank of the stream where they captured the canoes and their occupants, by means of an ambush and sacked the towns and massacred the inhabitants. The Cherokee leader in this famous exploit was their celebrated chief Bullhead.[8] A small tribe of Uchee

[7]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 21; 1 Pickett's History of Alabama, 154-155.

[8]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 84. For another version of this story see Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 383-384; Haywood's Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, 1823; Gatschet's Migration Legend of the Creeks, 1884, 195-196.

was also residing near the mouth of Hiwassee River when the Cherokees first reached that country. These Uchee too became involved in a quarrel with the new-comers and were exterminated in a sanguinary battle which followed.[9] Mooney doubts this tradition of the Cherokees,[10] but see De l'Isle's map prefixed to French's Historical Collections of Louisiana, Part II. That the Cherokees came from the north, at least in large part, seems to be proved by the fact that, mostly anyhow, they are of Iriquoian stock.[11]

These traditions of the Cherokees, however, are not consistent with others of their traditions. "We know by the traditions of the Cherokees, that, at the epoch of the arrival of their ancestors, who came from the mountains of Mexico. these great works" (the large mounds in the Cherokee land), "existed very nearly such as we see them now, and that the most ancient among the conquered Savannucas" (Shawanoes) "were ignorant when and by whom they were erected. The invasion took place about the end of the fifteenth century. If we suppose that among a nation of hunters three hundred years suffice to efface the last souvenirs of tradition, then the existence of these monuments ascends to the twelfth century."[12] According to one authority "Savannuka" was the Creek name for the Shawnees while the Cherokee name for the Shawnees was "Ani-Savanugi,[13] but Shipp speaks of them apparently as Uchee people who speak "the Savanna or Savannuca tongue," "the same with, or a dialect of the Shawanese."[14]

"The ancient traditions of the Cherokees, as well as the ancient traditions of the Muscogees (Creeks) and the Natchez, also point back to Mexico as the country from which they, in a period long past, moved to their ancient possessions east of the Mississippi river."[15]

"There is much proof in favor of the belief that the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees and Muscogees, were living in Mexico when Cortez overthrew the Aztec dynasty."[16]

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[9]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 81.
[10]Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 383-384-386.
[11]Ibid., 17, 1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 245.
[12]Barnard Shipp's History of Hernando de Soto and Florida, 1881, 634-635, quoting apparently from "St. John de Crevecour."
[13]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 530, 509;
[14]Barnard Shipp's History of Hernando de Soto and Florida, 1881, 645.
[15]J. H. Malone's Chickasaw Nation, 1922, 26, quoting Cushman's History of the Choctaw, etc.
[16]H. B. Cushman's History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians, 1899, 66, 67.

These contradictory traditions are easily reconciled when the habit of the Cherokees to incorporate into their "nation" fragments of other Indian peoples who had engaged in unsuccessful wars nearly to the point of extermination, is remembered. "Their national name is derived from Cheer-a, 'fire,' which is their reputed lower heaven, and hence they call their *magi, Cheera-talige,* "men possessed of the divine fire."[17] However, it was only in a very limited way that the religion of the Cherokees was a fire-worship or sun-worship. They were zootheists, or animal-worshippers, or rather worshippers of natural objects and natural forces. Among these gods were quadrupeds, birds, fishes, insects, snakes, spiders, terrapins, fire, water, the sun, stones, plants, and mythical personages. "The sun is invoked chiefly by the ball-player, while the hunter prays to the fire; but every important ceremony—whether connected with medicine, love, hunting, or the ball play—contains a prayer to the 'Long Person,' the formalistic name for water, or, more strictly speaking for the river. The wind, the storm, the cloud, and the frost are also invoked in different formulas.[18] Indeed, Mooney says that the word Cherokee has no meaning in the language of the people who bear that name, that their word for fire is staila; and that the word Cherokee is derived from the Choctaw choluk or chiluk signifying a pit or cave, and comes to the whites through the Mobilian Jargon or Mobilian Trade language in a corrupted form. As a confirmation of this he mentions that the Iriquois (Mohawk) name for this people is Oyatageronon meaning 'inhabitants of the cave country'; the Catawba name is, Manteran meaning 'coming out of the ground'; the Wyandot name is Wataiyo-ronon, meaning 'coming out of the ground'; and the Delaware name is, Allegewi or Tallig-wi (connected with the Delaware word walok, a cave or hole), meaning "people of the cave country." He thinks that the Cherokees were so called because of their country the Allegheny being peculiarly a cave country in which 'rock shelters,' containing numerous traces of Indian occupancy, are of frequent occurrence.[19] Other writers have followed Adair in this matter.[20] Else-

[17]Adair's American Indians, 1775, 227.
[18]Mooney's Sacred Formulas of the Cherokee, Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1885-86, 340-342.

where Mooney says that the word Cherokee "is a corruption of Tsalagi or Tsaragi, the name by which they commonly called themselves," but which they have adopted from some other language.[21] Perhaps the Cherokee names Talikwa, Tsalagi, Tsaragi, Ptsaliko, Saliko, and Tellico, like Cherokee or Chelakee themselves, might well be derived from Talliegewi or Alligewi.[22] There were two or more dialects of the Cherokee language. The western dialect, spoken in most of the towns of eastern Tennessee and upper Georgia and in the North Carolina towns of the Hiwassee and Cheowa Rivers, was the softest of these, frequently employing the "*l*" sound, especially in place of the "*r*" sound.[23] 'The Eastern dialect, formerly often called the Lower Cherokee dialect, was originally spoken in all the towns upon the waters of the Keowee and Tugaloo, head-streams of Savannah river, in South Carolina and the adjacent portion of Georgia. Its chief peculiarity is a rolling *r*, which takes the place of the *l* of the other dialects. In this dialect the tribal name is Tsaragi, which the English settlers of Carolina corrupted to Cherokee, while the Spaniards, advancing from the south, became better familiar with the other form, which they wrote Chelaque."[24] The Cherokees called Ayrate were the Lower Cherokees, who lived about the heads of Savannah River, while those called Ottare lived about the heads of streams running into the Mississippi River.[25] By another division those living in what is now the State of Tennessee were Overhills, those on the Little Tennessee River now in North Carolina were Middle Towns or Middle Settlements and those on Valley River and the upper Hiwassee River were Valley Towns.[26]

The Cherokees have been called by different writers by one hundred and six different names, a list of which may be found in Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 185-186. One of those names was Kituhwagi from their very

[19]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 15, 16, 19, 183.
[20]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 81; 1 Pickett's History of Alabama, 154; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 90.
[21]1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 245-246; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 182-183.
[22]See Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 87.
[23]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 16, 1-17, 17; 1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 246.
[24]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 16.
[25]Adair's American Indians, 1775, 226.
[26]1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 245-246; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 16, 17; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 46.

ancient and important town Kittuwa on Tuckaseigee River extending from the mouth of Oconaluftee River down nearly to Bryson City.[27]

The country cocupied at times by these people was extensive. Once they occupied the upper parts of the Yadkin Valley.[28] They occupied at one time the country from the heads of Catawba River to parts below Morganton but retired, when the game there became scarce, to the west of the Blue Ridge.[29]

"The territories of the Cherokees, Chelakees, or more properly, Tsalakies, says Mr. Gallatin, extended north and south of the south-westerly continuation of the Appalachian Mountains, embracing on the north the country on Tennessee or Cherokee River and its tributary streams from the sources down to the vicinity of Muscle Shoals, where they were bounded on the west by the Chicasas. The Cumberland Mountains may be considered as having been the boundaries on the north; but since the country has been known to us, no other Indian nation, except some small bands of Shawnoes, had any settlement between that mountain and the Ohio.' On the west side of the Savannah the Cherokees were confronted on the south by the Creeks, the division line being Broad River and generally along the thirty-fourth parallel of north latitude. East of the Savannah their original seats embraced the upper waters of that river, of the Santee, and probably, of the Yadkin, but could not have extended as far south as the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude. They were bounded on the south, probably, by the Muskhogee tribes in the vicinity of the Savannah, and farther east, by the Catawbas."[30] The Cherokees once claimed and probably occupied the lands in western North Carolina on the Catawba and Broad Rivers extending into northern South Carolina.[31] Spangenberg in 1752 visited the upper parts of the Catawba and Yadkin Rivers in North Carolina. There were then no Indian residents there; but he found Cherokee hunters in the woods, old Indian cleared fields, and an abandoned Indian fort not yet entirely decayed

[27] Ib'd., 525, 182.
[28] J. Crouch's Historical Sketches of Wilkes County, 1902, 6-7.
[29] 1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 380.
[30] C. C. Jones's Antiquities of the Southern Indians, 1873, 6-7.
[31] 3 H. R. Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, 1853, 293-294; H. L. Scaife's History and Condition of the Catawba Indians, 1896, 4; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 380-381; Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 69-70; 1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 213-214.

which led him to suppose that Indian residents there had deserted their habitations about fifty years before. He also found there tame grass growing about residences unoccupied for some years and trees which indicated former possession of the country by Indians, then in a condition which seem to point to an occupation concluded about fifty years earlier. He decided once to have his Moravians settle there where they might be in contact with the Cherokees and the Catawbas.[32] All this shows the recent removal of the Cherokees from that region. When, in 1756 the colonial government of North Carolina undertook to build Fort Dobbs on Fourth Creek in the immediate vicinity of the present Statesville, this was to be under a treaty with the Cherokees made through their chief Attacullaculla (the Little Carpenter) and the fort there was to be in the country of the Cherokees.[33] Indeed, the Cherokees claimed hunting grounds on "the upper Dan and its Branches and the Waters of New River, including the Counties of Rockingham, Stokes, Surry, Ashe, Wilkes and Burke," in North Carolina.[34]

Apparently among the tribes which from time to time amalgamated with the Cherokees may have been Indians who had lived at or near the site of the present Charleston, South Carolina, when that city was founded. "From examining the oldest histories and maps, it appears that a portion of this nation" (Cherokees) "also occupied the seacoast of South Carolina, where, according to a tradition still extant, they first saw the white people approaching in ships, near to the present site of the city of Charlestown. They requested, they say, a small portion of land which was readily granted, but at length encroached upon us until we had to cross the mountains, and now even the banks of the Mississippi."[35]

The Cherokees had a tradition that they came from Asia to North America and from Mexico to their homes southeast of the Mississippi River. "Oconostota, or the Big War-

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[32]5 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1887, 6-14.
[33]Ibid., 840, 863, 864; 2 Williamson's History of North Carolina, 85, 87-88; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 28, 2nd ed. 41; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 50; C. Thomas's The Cherokees of Pre-Columbian Times, 1890, 6.
[34]2 Papers of Archibald D. Murphey, 1914, 380.
[35]Thomas Nuttall's Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory, 1818-1820, 176-177, Thwait's edition, 1905.

rior, chief of the ancient Cherokees, claimed that his people's ancestors came from Asia, landing far to the northwest of this continent, thence to Mexico, thence to this country. (Milfort, p. 269) *** The ancient traditions of the Cherokees, as well as the ancient traditions of the Muscogees (Creeks) and the Natchez also point back to Mexico as the country from which they, in a period long past, moved to their ancient possessions east of the Mississippi river. ***Milfort (p. 269) says: Big Warrior, chief of the Cherokees, as late as 1822, not only confirms their tradition that Mexico was their native country, but goes back to a more remote period for their origin and claims that his ancestors came from Asia; crossing Behring Straits in their canoes, thence down the Pacific coast to Mexico, thence to the country east of the Mississippi river, where they were first known to the Europeans."[37] "Linguistically the Cherokees belong to the Iroquoian stock."[38] That the Cherokees were the mound builders seems to have been clearly proved.[39] Repeated statements can be found in numerous writers to the effect that Cherokees assert that when their ancestors first came to the Cherokee country they found the mounds of that country there and that neither they nor those whom they expelled knew who were the builders of those mounds. This can be explained, as can other contradictions in Cherokee traditions, by the fact that the first Cherokees had, from time to time, received into their confederacy other peoples who knew not the early traditions of those with whom they thus confederated.

The Cherokees first became known to any European forty-eight years after Christopher Columbus had discovered islands in the western Atlantic Ocean. Hernando de Soto landed on the western coast of Florida on May 25, 1539, on his ever memorable expedition for the exploration of the interior of eastern North America. After about a year of wandering and fighting, he reached, in May of 1540,

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[37]H. B. Cushman's History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians, 1899, 17, 19, 66.

[38]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 15-17; Mooney's Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees, 7th Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1885-86, 1891, 314; 1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1907, 246; W. A. Beauchamp's History of the New York Iroquois, 1905, 136, 139; C. Thomas's The Cherokee in Pre-Columbian Times, 1890, 5 16, 91, 92, 87.

[39]C. Thomas's The Cherokees in the Pre-Columbian Times, 1890.

a place called Cutifachiqui or Cofitachique or Cofitachiqui as it is variously named in three narratives of the expedition left by members thereof, the Fidalgo of Elvas, Luys Hernandez de Biedma and Rodrigo Ranjel.[40] Other names of the town were Cofetacque, Canos, and Canosi. It was one hundred and fifty miles up the Savannah River from Saint Helena in the immediate vicinity of Port Royal, South Carolina.[41] Yet other forms of the name are given as Cofachiqui (Garcilaso), Cosatachiqui, etc.; while different distances from the Atlantic Ocean are mentioned. The locations attempted have varied as much as the forms of the names and the distance from the ocean. The later authorities seem to agree that the town was at the point on the north bank of Savannah River in Barnwell County, South Carolina, about twenty-five miles by water below Augusta and known as Silver Bluff.[42] From this town De Soto marched north, two days according to one chronicler and seven days according to another, to the province of Chelaque.[43] This is, in 1540, the first mention of the Cherokees. Passing through that land to Xualla (Sualla), he turned west and for eleven days marched through the land of the Cherokees in the mountains of Western North Carolina to a place called Chiaha. This region had copper, silver and gold which the Cherokees smelted.[44]

In 1566 Pedro Menendez built the Spanish fort of San Felipe at Saint Helena on Port Royal Island in South Carolina. [45] In November, 1566, a Spanish captain, Juan Pardo, was sent from San Felipe to explore the interior of the country and built a fort among the Suallas or Saras at the foot of the Blue Ridge in North Carloina which he left in charge of a sergeant. Later this sergeant marched through the North Carolina mountains in the land of the Cherokees to Chiaha. Pardo then marched to the fort among the

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[40]1 Bourne's Hernando de Soto, 64; 2 Ibid., 13, 99.

[41]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 27.

[42]Ibid., 191-194; J. Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 6-7; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 208; William Bartram's Travels through North and South Carolina, 1792, 312-314; 2 Bourne's De Soto, 1905, 99 note; Gatschet's Migration Legend of the Creeks, 1884, 17-20.

[43]1 Bourne's Hernando De Soto, 1905, 102; French's Historical Collections of Louisiana, Part II, 146.

[44]1 Bourne's Hernando De Soto, 1905, 77, 79, 80; French's Historical Collections of Louisiana, Part II, 1850, 149, 151; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 128-129; 2 Irving's Conquest of Florida, 1835, 15-16, 17-18; 2 Hakluyt's Voyages, Goldsmid ed., 1889, 506, 422, 425, 437, 486, 487, 533-534, 535-536; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 31, 202.

[45]Rivers's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 14-25; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 27.

Saras, and through the mountains, following the sergeant, until he joined the later at Chiaha and from that place returned to Saint Helena through the Alabama country.[46] Shortly after this Spanish miners began to spend much time among the Cherokees where remains of their excavations are yet to be seen.[47] When the numerous and greatly injurious wars with the Indians in which the Virginians had engaged had about ended there suddenly appeared near the modern city of Richmond in 1656 a body of aborigines called Richahechrians. These were six hundred or seven hundred in number and came from the western mountains near Charlottesville and Lynchburg. They peaceably encamped at the falls of James River. The Virginians wantonly assailed these people and met with a disastrous defeat.[48] The Richahechrians were Cherokees. Soon they removed to the Cherokee country, in the south.

In 1670 John Lederer, a German, in the service of Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, made an expedition from eastern Virginia to the southwest, starting in May and, on his return, reaching Apamatuck, opposite Petersburg on Appomattox River, July 18, 1670. On this expedition Lederer formed the acquaintance with the existence of the Ricohockans, who were the same as the Richahechrians, that is as the Cherokees. He places them west of the Blue Ridge across from the piedmont parts of North Carolina and Virginia.[49] In the same year of 1670 Dr. Henry Woodward from South Carolina went among the Cherokees whose country he described as "delitious pleasant and fruitfull," and made a league with their emperor.[50] In 1674 he made another visit to them and spoke of them as "Chorkee Indians with whom" the Westoes "are at continual wars."

[46]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 27-29.

[47]Alvord and Bidgood's First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 161; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 202; Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 57-58; Jones's Antiquities of the Southern Indians, 1873, 48-49-51; Stephenson's Geology and Mineralogy of Georgia, 1871, 208, 209; Lanman's Letters from the Alleghany Mountains, 1849; Speeches and Writings of T. L. Clingman, 1877, 118; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 140-142; 2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 19, 50; Discoveries of John Lederer, 1902, 21-22; S. C. Williams's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, 93; 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 212, 513, 533-536, 539-540; 4 Ibid., 245; 4 Arber's English Garner, 1909, 75; Peter Huylyn's Cosmographie, 1657, 1032.

[48]E. D. Neill's Virginia Carolorum, 1886, 245-247; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 29-30; Alvord and Bidgood's First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 155 note 139; 2 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 800.

[49]Alvord and Bidgood's First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 149-163, 140; Discoveries of John Lederer, 1902, map.

[50]1 North Carolina Colonial Records, 1886, 208-209.

On May 17, 1673, General Abraham Wood, in command of the fort at Fort Henry, now Petersburg, Virginia, engaged in the Indian trade in which he sent out exploring parties to unknown regions, had heard of the Tomahitans and fitted out an expedition to their country. The Tomahitans were Cherokees. This party consisted of some Tomahitans who had visited Fort Henry and an Appomattox Indian besides James Needham and Gabriel Arthur, two white men. They came to Sittaree, or Sualy (Sara), whence they spent four days in the ascent of a pathless mountain. Passing a swampy level country with waters running to the northeast and five fordable rivers, through a region abundant in game, they came on the fifteenth day from Sittaree, to the river of the Tomahitans and the town of that people, eight days journey down the river from which "lives a white people which have long beardes and whiskers and weares clothing." This river seems to have been the Little Tennessee and the white people to have been the Spaniards in Florida, with whom the Tomahitans were on unfriendly terms. Needham soon returned to Fort Henry but Gabriel Arthur remained for some while with the Tomahitans.[52] Apparently Needham and Arthur passed up the Hickorynut Gap or Swannanoa Gap and through Buncombe County.

In 1690 Cornelius Dougherty, an Irish trader from Virginia, went to live among the Cherokees.[53] The first permanent white settlement in South Carolina was in the vicinity of the present Charleston in April, 1670.[54] Very soon its people began to trade with the Indians of that region, exchanging for peltries certain articles which proved most attractive to the aborigines. This lucrative business spread rapidly to Indians living further away until it had crossed South Carolina, passed over the Appalachians and even reached the tributary streams of the Mississippi River and even, at last, that great waterway itself. It reached the Cherokees at an early date. In 1684, when the whites had been in South Carolina only fourteen years, the government at Charles Town entered into a written treaty with eight

[51]S. C. Williams's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, 20 note.
[52]Alvord and Bidgood's First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 210-218, 78-85, 218-225.
[53]W. W. Clayton's History of Davidson County, Tennessee, 1880, 17; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 31, 238.
[54]Rivers's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 94-95, 127-128; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 31.

chiefs of the Lower Cherokees.[55] Soon Cherokees beyond the Appalachians were brought into these commercial relations. Other treaties followed from time to time and the relations thus begun were extended so as to embrace other subjects than merchandise. In 1712, when the Tuscarora War broke out in North Carolina, Colonel John Barnwell was sent by South Carolina with a force to aid the white settlers in North Carolina. Among his troops were two hundred and eighteen Cherokees, under Captains Harford and Thurstons. On the defeat of the Tuscaroras Barnwell's Indian troops left him and hurried to Charles Town in order to sell their prisoners there for slaves.[56]

At first the Cherokee trade with Virginians was conducted by traders of the latter passing through the piedmont regions of North Carolina and South Carolina and over the ridges of the Appalachian Mountains.[57] When the province of Georgia was formed from South Carolina territory, the new province exacted a license for traders passing through its borders.[57a] Subsequent to 1740 Stephen Holstein, a hunter of western Virginia, discovered the Holston River and thus gave to Virginia traders a nearer and better way by which to reach the Overhill Cherokees.[58] The Indian name of this river was Watauga[58a]; and for a while the whites called it Indian River.[59] Of course, this discovery proved an injury to the Indian trade of South Carolina.

But that trade suffered a far greater injury from a very different source.

In 1535 the French under Jacques Cartier passed up the Saint Lawrence River.[60] French settlements on the banks of the stream followed.[61] Then the French discovered the Great Lakes. In 1639 Jean Nicolet found the upper Mississippi River; and in 1670 - 1671 La Salle found the Ohio River. Joliet and Marquette reached the Mississippi River

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[55]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 31.

[56]1 Hewatt's History of South Carolina, 1779, 202; McCrady's South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1897, 526, 499; 2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 541-542, 549; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 190, 187; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 32; Rivers's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 255, 238.

[57]1 Byrd's History of the Dividing Line, 1866, 152, 140-142.

[57]a Ibid.

[58]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 29; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 49.

[58]a Ibid.

[59]S. C. Williams's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, 166.

[60]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 77-154; J. P. Baxter's Mission of Jacques Cartier, 1906.

[61]1 F. X. Martin's History of Louisiana, 1827, 39.

from the Great Lakes in 1673. La Salle passed down that river to its mouth in 1682, and took possession for Louis XIV of all countries on that stream or its tributaries. Then France claimed the Valley of the Mississippi and erected a number of forts in order to maintain that claim. She also took possession of the Alabama country and built forts there. Then she sought to form alliances with the Indian tribes and to secure their trade. Among these Indians were the Cherokees. The French were politic, adroit and unscrupulous while the English were arrogant, cruel and oppressive and the Cherokees were corrupt, vacillating and treacherous. French agents resided among the Cherokees and by constant artful persuasion soon brought those Indians into a state of hostility to the English and especially to the English colonists and most especially to the South Carolina settlers. In 1699 the French made their first permanent settlement on the Gulf of Mexico at Biloxi Bay, Mississippi, and in 1714 built on Coosa River, a few miles above the present Montgomery, Alabama, Fort Toulouise, which the English called "the fort at the Alabamas." From the erection of the latter fort the French began to seek to secure the trade with the Indian tribes theretofore enjoyed by South Carolina, directing their efforts chiefly from Fort Toulouse, and kept up these efforts until the close of the French and Indian War in 1763, when they relinquished to Great Britain most of their claim to the Mississippi Valley east of the Mississippi River.[62]

The South Carolina colonists soon became aware of these activities of the French among the Cherokees and began to concert measures to counteract them. In 1730 Sir Alexander Cuming led a party from Charlestown on a visit to the Cherokees to persuade the latter to maintain their fidelity to English interests. He passed through the towns of the Lower Cherokees and the towns of the Middle Settlements in North Carolina on the Little Tennessee and reached as far as the towns of the Overhills now in Tennessee, even going as far among the last as Tenase. Then he returned to Charlestown. On this journey across the mountains and back, he committed many extravagances; held meetings

[62]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 34-35.

OSTENSACO, ONE OF THREE CHEROKEE CHIEFS TAKEN TO ENGLAND IN 1762 BY LIEUTENANT HENRY TIMBERLAKE

with the natives at numerous places, especially at Nequassee (now Franklin on the Little Tennessee in Macon County, North Carolina); required in all of them the Indians to acknowledge on their knees that they were subjects of the British King George II; appointed a Cherokee viceroy to represent that sovereign; and conducted his marches and ceremonies with extreme ostentation. On his return he carried seven Cherokee chiefs to London, where they were had to sign a treaty in which they acknowledged that they were subjects of King George and their country was his and held by them under him and promised many more such things.[63] Of course, no good ever came of all this show and promise.

In 1739 an epidemic of small-pox, brought to South Carolina by slave ships and carried among their people by Cherokee visitors at Charlestown, destroyed in a single year nearly half of the Cherokee population.[64]

On June 9, 1732 a charter granted by British royalty took from South Carolina the territory now comprising almost all of the present States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. This new province was organized by General James Oglethorpe, under the name of Georgia.* The French, in 1736, sent among the Cherokees a German Jesuit named Christian Priber, who quickly acquired the Cherokee language, assumed their dress and habits, took for a wife one of their women, ate and slept and danced and painted himself with them. He was master of the Greek, Latin, German, French, Spanish and English languages, a profound scholar and "adorned with every qualification that constitutes the gentleman." He took up his residence at Tellico, now in Tennessee, and with that as its capital, he organized the entire Cherokee country into an empire with a chief named Moytoy as emperor and himself as Secretary of State. He invited all classes of criminals to seek an asylum in his government and all debtors, felons, servants and negro slaves to join him under promise of exemption from punishment for any crime or licentiousness which they might have committed, except murder and idleness. For eight years this

[63]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 35-36.
[64]Ibid., 36.
*2 Hewatt's History of South Carolina, 1779, 25.

lasted. In 1744 Priber started to Mobile; and, when but two days distant from his destination, he was arrested at Tookabatcha by some traders and carried a prisoner to General Oglethorpe at Frederika, Georgia, where he died in prison, leaving some manuscripts including a Cherokee dictionary. He said: "We never lose sight of a favorite point, nor are we bound by the strict rules of morality in the means, when the end we pursue is laudable. If we err, our general is to blame; and we have a merciful God to pardon us. Before the century is passed the Europeans will have a very small footing on this continent."[66] Such was the great Indian empire which for eight years included Buncombe County and, in fact, all the present Western North Carolina, besides much of South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama. It collapsed with the death of its originator, Christian Priber.

In April, 1754 began the French and Indian War.[1] In it was involved the controversy between Great Britain and France as to the ownership of the French claims of territory in what are now the Southern States, lands east of the centre of the Mississippi River. It soon involved the Seven Years War of Europe and America, (1756-1763), between Great Britain and Prussia, on the one hand, and France, Austria, Russia, Sweden, and Saxony, on the other hand, and ended in the Treaty of Paris of 1763.[2] In that treaty was relinquished to Great Britain, besides other territory, the country east of the middle of the Mississippi River as far down as the vicinity of New Orleans.

Soon after the French and Indian War broke out the Cherokees entered it on the side of the French. Those Indians in the years of 1755 and 1756, 1759 and 1760 committed depredations on the white settlers on and near Catawba and Yadkin Rivers in North Carolina.[3] In 1760 Cherokees masacred people and depopulated settlements in northern South Carolina.[4]

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[66]Adair's American Indians, 1775, 240-243; 1 Stevens's History of Georgia, 1847, 164; 1 Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 318-327; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 403-411, 412; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 36-37, 526; 2 Hewatt's History of South Carolina, 1779, 5.

[1]5 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 215-216.

[2]24 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th ed., 715-723; 5 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 215-216.

[3]2 Williamson's History of North Carolina, 1812, 88; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 50; Clewell's History of Wachovia, 1902, 33-52.

[4]McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1899, 342-343; 2 Jenkins's Life of Calhoun, 20; 3 Historical Collections of the Joseph Habbersham Chapter, D. A. R.

The South Carolina people had, in 1756, built and garrisoned Fort Loudon on Little Tennessee River not far from Tellico River among the Overhills. This fort was now besieged by those Indians.[5] In consequence of an application of South Carolina for aid, Colonel Archibald Montgomery, (Mountgomerie), with a regiment of Highlanders, went to Charlestown and marched for the relief of Fort Loudon, but was defeated by the Cherokees at Etchoe on the Little Tennessee River three miles above Nequassee, (now Franklin in Macon County), North Carolina. This was in 1760. Montgomery retired to Charles Town.[6] Indians were credited with great astuteness in warfare. This reputation derives no support from the following ancedote, if it is true, in regard to this defeat sustained at Etchoe in Western North Carolina by Colonel Archibald Montgomery, "The Hon. Archibald Montgomerie, afterwards earl of Eglintoun," who "died a general in the army, and colonel of the Scots Greys, in 1796."

"Several soldiers of this and other regiments fell into the hands of the Indians, being taken in ambush. Allan Macpherson, one of these soldiers, witnessing the miserable fate of several of his fellow-prisoners, who had been tortured to death by the Indians, and seeing them preparing to commence operations upon himself, made signs that he had something to communicate. An interpreter was brought. Macpherson told them, that, provided his life was spared for a few minutes, he would communicate the secret of an extraordinary medicine, which, if applied to the skin, would cause it to resist the strongest blow of a tomahawk, or sword; and that, if they would allow him to go to the woods with a guard to collect the proper plants for this medicine, he would prepare it, and allow the experiment to be tried on his own neck by the strongest and most expert warrior amongst them. This story easily gained upon the superstitious credulity of the Indians, and the request of the Highlander was instantly complied with. Being sent into the woods, he soon returned with such plants as he chose to pick up. Having boiled the herbs, he rubbed his neck with their juice, and laying his head upon a log of wood, desired

[5]Adair's American Indians, 1775; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 51; Timberlake's Memoirs, 1765, map; 2 Dinwiddie's Papers, 472, 508; 21 State Records of North Carolina, 1903, 132, 151; 6 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1888, 261.
[6]2 Hewett's History of South Carolina, 1779, 232-234.

the strongest man amongst them to strike at his neck with his tomahawk, when he would find he could not make the smallest impression. An Indian levelling a blow with all his might cut with such force, that the head flew off at the distance of several yards. The Indians were fixed in amazement at their own credulity, and the address with which the prisoner had escaped the lingering death prepared for him; but, instead of being enraged at this escape of their victim, they were so pleased with his ingenuity, that they refrained from inflicting further cruelties on the remaining prisoners'—Stewart's Sketches."[7] There have been nowhere more chivalrous people, savage or civilized, than the Cherokees. They had a celebrated warrior named Ostenaco to whom they gave the other name of "Judd's Friend, or corruptly the Judge from his saving a man of that name from the fury of his countrymen."[8]

In August, 1760 the Cherokees captured Fort Loudon on Little Tennessee River. Captain John Stuart was among the prisoners then made and was ordered by his captors to aid them in an attack upon Fort Prince George on Keowee River in South Carolina. Stuart appealed to the Cherokee chief Attacullaculla, the Little Carpenter, to protect him from being forced to fight his fellow South Carolinians. This chief was Stuart's friend who when Stuart was captured, bought the prisoner from the Indian captor by giving in return the chief's own rifle, clothes and every possession, and carried him to a private house as a member of the chief's own family, in order to procure his escape.[9] This chief also saved the lives of two others of the garrison, Patrick Jack and Isaac Thomas.[10] When Stuart so applied to Attacullaculla that chief "gave out among his countrymen that he intended to go a hunting for a few days, and carry his prisoner along with him to eat venison, of which he declared he was exceedingly fond. *** Having settled all matters they set out on their journey accompanied by the warrior's wife, his brother, and two soldiers. ***For provisions they depended on what they might kill by the way. The distance to the frontier settlements was great, and the ut-

[7]4 Browne's History of the Highlands, 1836, 246-247, note, 244.
[8]The Memoirs of Henry Timberlake, 1765, 72.
[9]2 Hewatt's History of South Carolina and Georgia, 1779, 236-242; McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1899, 347-348.
[10]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 31.

most expedition necessary to prevent any surprise from the Indians pursuing them. Nine days and nights did they travel through a dreary wilderness, shaping their course by the light of the sun and moon for Virginia, and traversing many hills, valleys and paths that had never been crossed before but by savages and wild beasts. On the tenth they arrived at the banks of the Holston River where they fortunately fell in with a party of three hundred men, sent out by Colonel Bird for the relief of such soldiers as might make their escape that way from Fort Loudon. On the fourteenth day the Captain reached Colonel Bird's camp on the frontiers of Virginia, where having loaded his faithful friend with presents and provisions, he sent him back to protect the unhappy prisoners till they should be ransomed, and to exert his influence among the Cherokees for the restoration of peace."[11]

Such was Cherokee humanity. "A remarkable instance of this appeared in the case of the late Colonel Byrd, who was sent to the Cherokee nation to transact some business with them. It happened that some of our disorderly people had just killed one or two of that nation. It was therefore proposed in the council of the Cherokees that Colonel Byrd should be put to death in revenge for the loss of their countrymen. Among them was a chief called Silouee, who, on some former occasion, had contracted an acquaintance and friendship with Colonel Byrd. He came to him every night in his tent, and told him not to be afraid, they should not kill him. After many days' deliberation, however, the determination was, contrary to Silouee's expectation, that Byrd should be put to death, and some warriors were dispatched as executioners. Silouee attended them, and when they entered the tent, he threw himself between them and Byrd, and said to the warriors; 'This man is my friend; before you get at him, you must kill me.' On which they returned, and the council respected the principle so much as to recede from their determination."[12] Nancy Ward, a Cherokee, was a "Beloved Woman," that is she was a woman who in her youth, had fought as a warrior.[13] Her people planned an attack on the white settlement upon Holston

[11]2 Hewatt's History of South Carolina and Georgia, 1779, 236-242.
[12]Thomas Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, 1800 edition, 64, note.
[13]H. Timberlake's Memoirs, 1765, 71.

River. "This formidable invasion was rendered much less destructive than was intended by the address and humanity of another Pocahontas. Nancy Ward, who was nearly allied to some of the principal chiefs, obtained their plan of attack, and without delay communicated it to Isaac Thomas, her friend and a true American. She procured him means to set out to the inhabitants of Holston as an express to warn them of their danger, which he opportunely did."[14]

Later a Mrs. Bean was captured by the Cherokees and by them condemned to death by burning, "when Nancy Ward, then exercising in the nation the functions of the Beloved or Pretty Woman, interfered and pronounced her pardon. Her life was spared.[15]

"In the Cherokee war of 1760 when small bodies of the enemy, according to Haywood, were pushing their inroads eastward almost to Salisbury, a party of six or eight warriors was discovered, watched and followed until they were seen to enter a deserted cabin to pass the night. The alarm was given, and shortly before daylight the whites surrounded the house, posting themselves behind the fodder stack and some outbuildings so as to command both the door and the wide chimney top. They then began to throw fire upon the roof to drive out the Indians, when, as the blaze caught the dry shingles, and death either by fire, or bullet seemed certain, one of the besieged warriors called to his companions that it was better that one should be a sacrifice than that all should die, and that if they would follow his directions he would save them, but die himself. He proposed to sally out alone to draw the fire of the besiegers, while his friends stood ready to make for the woods as soon as the guns of the whites were empty. They agreed, and the door was opened, when he suddenly rushed forth, dodging and running in a zigzag course, so that every gun was emptied at him before he fell dead, covered with wounds. While the whites were reloading the other warriors ran out and succeeded in reaching the woods before the besiegers could recover from their surprise. The historian adds, 'How greatly it is to be regretted that the

[14]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 47-48; 1891, 60; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 144.
[15]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 157; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 490.

name of this hero is not known to the writer, that it might be recorded with this speciman of Cherokee bravery and patriotism, firmness and presence of mind in the hour of danger.' "[16]

John Welch, a Cherokee half-breed of Western North Carolina, killed a brother of the Cherokee Eoneguski, at the head of Valley River. Acting under the rigid requirement of the Cherokee custom,[16a] Eoneguski (or Yonaguska, Drowning Bear) undertook to avenge the homicide by killing Welch and pursued him into what is Tennessee and then into South Carolina. Welch had fled to South Carolina near the head of Savannah River where he became engaged to marry a pretty white girl named Bettie Blythe. At length Eoneguski learned of his whereabouts and went there in pursuit. Bettie was informed of the presence and purpose of the pursuer and obtained an interview with him, beseeching him, with tears, to abandon his purpose. "The warrior stood silent and apparently as unresponsive as one of the great trees that surrounded them; but, after a moments contemplation of the weeping figure at his feet, threw his rifle on his shoulder and uttering a significant 'Uh!' turned on his feet and disappeared. Welch and Bettie married, acquired a valuable farm on Valley River in Cherokee County, raised a large and respectable family." Honorable Theodore F. Davidson, in relating this story in his most interesting Reminiscences and Traditions of Western North Carolina, 1928, 8-9, adds: "The writer has often been in Bettie's house when she was an old but still handsome woman, and some of her children were his playmates." This story of Welch and Bettie was made the basis of a novel by the late Judge Robert Strange and called "Eoneguski or the Cherokee Chief: A Tale of Past Wars, by an American," 1839. Eoneguski (1759-April 1839), was the most famous chief of the North Carolina Cherokees.[17]

Among the great chiefs of the Cherokees whose names are worthy to be remembered are several whose residences were not within the borders of the present North Carolina, but may well be mentioned, namely: Ostenaco, Attacullaculla, Occonostota, Siloue, Willanawa, Major Ridge, John

[16]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 394-395.
[16a] 1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1897, 450.
[17]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 157-164; C. Lanman's Letters from the Alleghany Mountains, 1849, 93-114, 106-110.

Ridge, Moytoy, and Elias Boudinot and General Stand Watie. Without impropriety Elias Boudinot may be denominated the Caxton of the Cherokees.

Fort Loudon surrendered to the Cherokees, August 8, 1760.[18] In 1761 Colonel James Grant arrived at Charlestown and, with a body of Highland troops and some South Carolina militia, reached Keowee and was there joined by a body of militia from Rowan and other North Carolina counties under Colonel Hugh Waddell together with some Tuscarora Indians.[19] Grant then marched to the Little Tennessee River in North Carolina; burned Etchoe and fourteen other Indian towns there; destroyed the Indian provisions; drove the Indians to the mountains where many of them perished; spent thirty days in devastating the country; and then returned to Charlestown, while his North Carolina troops went to their homes in North Carolina. This was a fearful blow from which the Cherokees never fully recovered.

At the beginning the Cherokee trade was immensely profitable. The Cherokee country abounded in game. This the Cherokees, under instigation of the traders, slaughtered for skins without the least consideration of the imprudence of destroying in this way their only means of support. At first this trade was conducted at white settlements. When the Indians became averse to going to these places for the purpose the white traders commenced to carry their goods to the Indian towns. The transportation was on the backs of Indians, (called "burdeners"), hired to do that work and carry back the peltries to market. Soon this method was changed to transportation on horses driven in caravans or where rivers were available in periaguas or pettiaguas.[20] The periagua or pettiauger was a kind of canoe or boat with a forecastle and cabin, two masts, sails, no deck, and was rowed by oars.[21] Then the whites began to build forts in the Indian country for facilitating this trade. Often these forts presented scenes as wild as imagination could picture. On the outskirts were caravans of pack-trains managed by mis-

[18]2 Hewatt's History of South Carolina. 1779, 237-238; Timberlake's Memoirs, 1765, map; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 31; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 43.

[19]McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1899, 350; 2 Hewatt's History of South Carolina, 1779, 244-245; 2 Papers of Archibald D. Murphey, 1914, 387-388; 5 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1887, LIII-LIV; Smith's Western North Carolina, 1890, 85.

[20]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 8-9, 263, 17 note, 33, 211.

[21]C. C. Jones's Tomo-Chi-Chi, 1868, 80.

chievous boys while smoke arose from hundreds of campfires and the woods resounded with the neighing of horses, and barking of dogs. Congregated about the trading-house were pack-horsemen, traders, hunters, squaws, children, soldiers and stately warriors, "some silent and grave, seemingly uninterested in the scene—but the greater number loudly huckstering, and obstinately contending over their respective commodities in trade in many barbarous tongues.

"The hunters from distant wilds want a supply of powder and ball, each squaw fancies some bright-colored fabric for a new petticoat or dress, while the warriors and old men eagerly demand guns, ammunition and blankets.

"The clamor begins, however, presently to subside, and at length the last bargain has been struck, and the goods and peltries have alike changed hands. The packs are once more made up; the goods for the Indian towns, and the skins for the market on the seaboard, and everything is again ready for the trail. The boys crack their whips, and with shouts and halloos that make the forests ring, the trains enter the narrow paths, and are soon far on their way, leaving the garrisons and agents of the posts to the dull monotony of the wilderness till their next visit."[22] Then the scene had changed and desolation and solitude resumed their sway and took the place of recent activity and uproar.

But by the close of the French and Indian War the game had largely disappeared from the Cherokee mountains and with it had gone the Cherokee trade's most flourishing stage and most of the Cherokee prosperity. The Cherokees had become pestiferous neighbors where mischief was hatched, escaped criminals were afforded a refuge and protection, fomentors of discord were encouraged, and drunkenness held sway. The Cherokee customer had been reduced to a condition little better than beggary and turbulence.

In order to allay their discontent and in compliance with a royal mandate, a line between Cherokee lands and the country open to white settlement was run from Savannah River to a place on Reedy River in South Carolina a few miles below the modern city of Greenville and from that

[22]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 251-252.

place on Reedy River north to a tree on White Oak Mountains, then named Tryon Mountain, now in Polk County, North Carolina, and agreed on to run from there to Chiswell's lead mine near New River in Virginia.[23] It was incorrectly supposed for a while that this line from Tryon Mountain north would follow the crest of the Blue Ridge and settlement then stopped at the eastern foot of that ridge until some years after the Revolutionary War,[24] except in eastern Tennessee.

With breaking-out in 1775 of that war and an alliance between the British and Cherokees which followed, the latter resumed their inroads into northern South Carolina.[25] The Cherokees then began again the forays on the white settlements upon the Catawba and Broad Rivers in North Carolina.[26]

These provoked the invasions of their country so disastrous to the Cherokees of General Griffith Rutherford and of Captain William Moore and Captain John Harden and of Colonel Williamson and of Colonel Christian, all in 1776.[27]

In 1777, at the conclusion of these expeditions, there followed treaties as usual; and, like other treaties with the Indians made by the whites, the former relinquished territory to the latter and received gifts of goods from the latter. There was then, in 1777 a certain territory between the

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[23]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 46; 7 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 108-109, 115-117, 141-142, 110, 164-165, 204, 207-208, 552, 215-217, 234, 214, 213, 220, 228-244, 245, 256-257, 235, 268, 279, 404, 412, 413, 415. 437-438, 446, 448, 455, 460-461, 991-992, 996-997. 462, 466-467, 998, 268, 999, 468, 1006-1007, 1000, 469, 1001, 1003, 1007-1008, 470, 508, 509, 471, 501-503, 510.

[24]Sondley's Alexander-Davidson Reunion, August 26, 1911, 20.

[25]2 Drayton's Memoirs, 1821, 339-341, 363, 365, 344, 413-415; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 47; Landrum's Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina, 1897, 85-86, 31, 33, 89-91, 94-97; 10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 771, 657; 1 Howe's History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, 1870, 436, 437; Fanning's Narrative, 1865, 4; 22 State Records of North Carolina, 1907, 184; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 67.

[26]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 495; 10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 662, 669, 712-713; Green's Historic Families of Kentucky, 1889, 20; Draper's Kings Mountain and Its Heroes, 1881, 471; Avery's History of the Presbyterian Churches at Quaker Meadows and Morganton, 1913, 71-72; Wheeler's Ristory of North Carolina, 1851, 238; Bennett's Chronology of North Carolina, 1858, 20-25, 19.

[27]10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 788, 860, 861, 746-747, 895-898, 748-751, 837-839, 680, 689, 892, 838-839, 748, 842-845, 846-847; 11 State Records of North Carolina, 1895, 1897, 337-338, 349, 354-355, 356, 333, 343, 417, 484-496, 451; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 205, 525, 49, 205, 527-528, 330, 336-337, 396, 477, 810, 50, 55, 209, 49, 523, 534, 50, 534-538, 526-527; North Carolina University Magazine, 1852, 132, 133-134, 102, 136, 135; Draper's Kings Mountain and Its Heroes, 1881, 151; 22 North Carolina State Records, 1907, 113, 763-764; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 164, 165-169; Hunter's Sketches of Western North Carolina, 1877, 198; 2 Drayton's Memoirs, 1821, 355-356, 343 map, 360-361, 346-350, 369, 371, 351-359, 344-345; Lyceum, April, 1891, 22-23; McCrady's South Carolina in the Revolution, 1902, 194-195; 2 McCall's History of Georgia, 1811, 204, 304-306; McJunkin's Memoirs, 1925, 89; Hunter's Map of the Cherokee Country, 1917; Avery v. Walker, 1 Hawks (8 N. C.) 140-146; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 53; Ramsay's Revolution in South Carolina, 1785, 346-350.

Blue Ridge on the east and the western Appalachian ridges now separating North Carolina from Tennessee, on the west. This intramontane land was claimed by the Middle Towns and the Valley Towns of the Cherokees. North Carolina needed it. This territory was the present North Carolina west of the Blue Ridge and included what became the County of Buncombe. The Revolutionary War was then in progress and required all North Carolina's resources. She had no surplus means with which to purchase the goods necessary for an Indian treaty. Consequently she entered into an understanding with chiefs of the Cherokee claimants to purchase the eastern portion of this territory as soon as she could procure the necessary goods. Under this arrangement, at the close of the war she included this teritory in land then thrown open to entry and grant by an act of 1783 of her legislature,[28] having in the meantime prohibited entry or grant of any of it.[29] The act opening the land to entry and grant in 1783 related to land north and east of a line beginning at the middle of Tennessee River where it crosses the southern border of the State of Tennessee and where then were the Chickamauga Towns and running with the middle of said river and of Holston River to the mouth of French Broad River, thence with the middle of French Broad River to the mouth of Big Pigeon River, thence with the middle of Big Pigeon River to its head and with the ridge east of the waters of Tuckaseegee River to the northern border of South Carolina.[30] In 1785 North Carolina obtained the goods requisite for this purchase; but, through the trickery of representatives of the Government of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, the Cherokees were induced to enter into the Treaty of Hopewell and to refuse then and until 1791 to release this territory to North Carolina. In 1791, however, they entered into the Treaty of Holston whereby they released the land from Clinch River to the Blue Ridge so as to include that of "nearly the whole of the French Broad and the lower Holston with the sites of the present Knoxville, Green(e)ville, and Asheville."[31] By subsequent treaties the Cherokees re-

[28]Iredell's North Carolina Revisal, 446; 24 State Records of North Carolina, 479.
[29]22 State Records of North Carolina, 1907, 239; 24 State Records of North Carolina, 1905, 160-161; 13 State Records of North Carolina, 1896, 115, 136; Iredell's North Carolina Revisal, 1791, 352; 1 Revisal of North Carolina, 1821, 355-356.
[30]24 State Records of North Carolina, 479; Iredell's North Carolina Revisal, 446.
[31]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 68-69.

leased lands in Western North Carolina until by the Treaty of New Echota in December, 1835, all the Cherokee land east of the Mississippi River was released.[32] Then from 1836 to 1838 all the Cherokees removed beyond that stream to the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), except some permitted to remain in North Carolina.[33] The Cherokees seem never to have had a town in the present County of Buncombe and none on French Broad River in what is now North Carolina or east of Pigeon River, except their small town of Conestee, Kanasta, Kanastunyi, on the waters of the upper French Broad, near Brevard, in what is now Transylvania County.[34] Their homes were chiefly in upper South Carolina, northern Georgia, northern Alabama, eastern Tennessee, and on the Tuckaseegee, Little Tennessee, Valley, and Hiwassee Rivers in what is now western North Carolina.[35]

One of the most momentous things in Cherokee history was the invention of a syllabary, sometimes miscalled "Cherokee Alphabet," by a half-breed Cherokee, Sequoya, (Sikwayi), commonly called George Gist, or Guest, or Guess. Sequoya was the son of a Cherokee woman and, it is said of a German trader among the Indians. His birth occurred about 1760 at Tuskegee on Little Tennessee River, then in North Carolina but now in the State of Tennessee, near Old Fort Loudon. He became a silversmith. As the white people "talked on paper," and he had seen some of their writings and books, he conceived a plan for enabling the Cherokees to read and write. Finding that in their language there were comparatively few distinct sounds or syllables he devised a character to represent each of these syllables. This, of course, could be used only in their language; but it could be quickly acquired without the trouble of learning to spell. Inferior to an alphabet, it served the Cherokee use most admirably. In 1821 he submitted his invention to the leading Cherokees when he was living at Willstown, now in Alabama. The invention was approved, a Cherokee press and newspapers have been established for its use, a Cherokee literature has been created, and Sequoya

[32]Ibid., 123-125, 158-159.
[33]Ibid., 159.
[34]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 524.
[35]Ibid., 14, 23, maps.

was a great man among the Cherokees until his death, after removing to the west and subsequent to 1828.[36]

Even prior to 1775 the land of the Cherokees was famous for the purity of its water and the salubrity of its climate.[37] In 1775 William Bartram visited the Cherokees on the Little Tennessee River about the present Franklin in Macon County, North Carolina, and wrote of them: "The Cherokees are yet taller and more robust than the Muscogulges, and by far the largest race of men I have seen; their complexions brighter and somewhat of the olive cast, especially the adults; and some of their young women are nearly as fair and blooming as European women.[38] One of the greatest difficulties in tracing the history of an Indian tribe is that always it has been known to the whites under numerous different names. Thus the Cherokees were so known by one hundred and eight different names.[39] North Carolina has been kind to the Cherokees. In the French and Indian War, they joined the French and, without provocation from North Carolina, made murderous incursion upon her people. In the Revolutionary War begun in 1775 the Cherokees joined the British and made violent inroads against unoffending settlers in North Carolina. In both cases North Carolina, as a matter of course, retaliated. At all other times her treatment of the Cherokees was lenient. Eonaguska, their greatest chief, voluntarily declared this: "We wanted to become children of North Carolina, and she has received us as such, and passed a law for our protection, and we will continue to raise our corn in this very land. The people of Carolina have always been very kind to us, and we know they will never oppress us."[40] Junaluska, another of their famous chiefs, was by North Carolina, made a citizen, and received from her the gift of a tract of land.[41] William H. Thomas, for years chief adviser, and agent of the Cherokees, reiterated in 1838, the superior kindness of North Carolina to the Cherokees.[42] She permitted Cherokees to remain in her borders when they expressed a de-

[36]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 108-138.
[37]Adair's American Indians, 1775, 226-256.
[38]William Bartram's Travels, 1792, 482-485.
[39]1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1907, 248-249.
[40]Hon. Theodore F. Davidson's Reminiscences and Traditions of Western North Carolina, 1928, 9; Lanman's Letters from the Alleghany Mountains, 1849, 109-110.
[41]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 164.
[42]2 Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851, 205-206.

sire to do so and permitted them to vote."[43] James Mooney makes the inexcusable mistatement that the deeds to the lands of the Cherokees were held in the name of William H. Thomas because "North Carolina refused to recognize Indians as land owners within the state, and persisted in this refusal until 1866."[44] Mooney had and referred to Lanman's Letters from the Alleghany Mountains, had access to the North Carolina statutes and the decisions of her highest courts and talked with those who knew Thomas, and with Thomas himself.[45] On October 15, 1838 Thomas had written a letter, published in 1851,[45a] to which Mooney had access, in which Thomas said: "The treaties made between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, in the years 1817 and 1819, made provision for those desiring to remain, agreeable to the promise of the President; and they were made citizens of the United States, and each family was allowed a reservation of six hundred and forty acres of land. The whites claimed the same lands, under a purchase made of the State. Suits were instituted in favor of the Indians, and by our Courts, were decided in their favor, and possession was surrendered to them by the whites. Afterwards they were induced to sell their reservations to the Commissioners of the State, and to purchase lands in the white settlements, where they now reside, in the neighborhood of the hunting ground reserved to the Cherokee hunters by the treaties concluded with the Cherokee Nation, between the years 1790 and 1799; which privilege as a part of the Cherokee nation, they continue to enjoy." This statement of Thomas contradicts Mooney's statement and the latter must have known of it and its correctness.[46]

Eonaguska said: "North Carolina had acknowledged our title to these lands;" and "The people of Carolina have always been very kind to us, and we know that they will never opress us."[47] Mooney renders this argument of Eonaguska thus: "Although frequent pressure was brought to bear to induce him and his people to remove to the West, he

[43]Lanman's Letters from the Alleghany Mountains, 1849, 95.
[44]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 159.
[45]Ibid., 162.
[45a] 2 Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 205-206.
[46]That Thomas's statement is true is clearly shown by Euchelah v. Welsh, 3 Hawks (10 N. C.) Reports, 155; Acts of North Carolina, 1823-1828, 99-108; Welch v. Trotter, 8 Jones (53 N. C.) Reports, 197; Sacarusa v. King, 2 C. L. R. (4 N. C.) 451 (336).
[47]Lanman's Letters from the Alleghany Mountains, 1849, 109, 110.

firmly resisted every persuasion, declaring that the Indians were safer from aggression among their rocks and mountains than they could ever be in a land which the white man could find profitable, and that the Cherokee could be happy only in the country where nature had planted him."[48] Is this a man whose truth and fairness can be trusted.

In the "War of 1812" Eonaguska and his people, persuaded by the known and experienced kindness of the North Carolinians "with whom they had long lived in peace," rejected the eloquent appeals of the great Tecumseh, who visited them for the purpose of enlisting them, to join him in the war against the Americans.[49]

Except the Cherokees, no other Indians appear to have lived in historic time anywhere in the present North Carolina west of the Blue Ridge, besides a settlement of Shawanoes or Shawnese at one time resident on Swannanoa and French Broad Rivers in what is now the City of Asheville, and country south and southeast and southwest thereof. This settlement or town of the Shawanoes extended from the eastern bank of the French Broad for a mile or two up the Swannanoa on both sides; and for some distance up the French Broad from the mouth of the Swannanoa and the town was called Swannano.

The Shawanoes were the Bedouins of America. They were restless, wandering, warlike, and scattered, occupying separate towns from Florida to Pennsylvania and Ohio. Their origin is a matter of dispute.

Their name of Shawnee is derived from the Delaware word of Shawanen, Shawun, or Shawunugi, meaning Southerners.[50] "The original seats of the Shawanoes have been placed in different sections of the country."[51] They are of Algonquin race.[52] "Their earliest habitat appears to have been on the middle Savannah river, which takes its name from them."[53] Adair,[54] speaks of the Savannah River as "the pleasant meandering Savannah river; so termed on account of the Shawano Indians having formerly lived there, till by

[48]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 163.
[49]See the account of that visit so graphically and beautifully portrayed by Honorable Theodore F. Davidson in his most valuable Reminscences and Traditions of Western North Carolina, 1928, 9-10.
[50]2 Thatcher's Indian Biography, 1832, 181-184; 2 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 530-536; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 494.
[51]Drake's Tecumseh, 10-17.
[52]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 494.
[53]Ibid.
[54]American Indians, 1775, 340.

our foolish measures, they were forced to withdraw northward in defence of their freedom." "They evidently came from the far south into Florida, into Georgia, across the Tennessee to the Cumberland, at each remove indicating their presence by their name affixed by the traditions of the country to some river or natural feature of the country traversed, Savanna, Savannehas, Sawana, and the like."[55] "About the year 1692 most of those remaining in South Carolina moved northward and settled upon the upper Delaware river, with their relatives and friends, the Delaware and Mahican."[56] The Shawanoes, first began to remove north from South Carolina in 1677 and 1678. Some left in 1694, and some in 1707.[57] "Up to the year 1730 the Shawano still had a town on Savannah river near Augusta, from which they were finally driven by the Cherokee."[58] "Those settled upon the Cumberland were afterwards expelled by the Cherokee and Chickasaw, and retired to the upper waters of the Ohio."[59] This removal from the Cumberland was in 1714, although some had gone at an earlier day.[60] "Their most noted chief was the great Tecumtha."[61] They were sometimes allies of the Cherokees and intermarried with them while at other times fierce wars prevailed between the two peoples.[62] The Shawanos were at first friendly with the South Carolinians;[63] but afterwards became unfriendly and troublesome to these white people.[64]

Sewanee in Tennessee, Swanee in Florida, Savannah in South Carolina and Georgia, Swannanoa in North Carolina, the French name of Chouanon for the Cumberland River and many other places in the United States, get their names from these people.

It is plain that they were driven from the Swannanoa in 1730 by the Cherokees at the same time that the latter expelled them from the Savannah, while the remains of an old Indian town and the mounds formerly on both sides of the

[55]Drake's Tecumseh, 10-17.
[56]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 494.
[57]2 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 533.
[58]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 494.
[59]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 494.
[60]2 Hodge's Handbook of the American Indians, 1910, 534-535.
[61]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 494.
[62]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 157; 2 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 531, 234, 105, 136, 99, 151, 370, 378, 14, 15, 31-32, 38, 384.
[63]2 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 532; Lawson's History of Carolina, 1860 reprint, 75;
[64]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 460-480.

TECUMSEH, CHIEF OF THE SHAWNEE TRIBE OF INDIANS WHO LIVED WITHIN THE ORIGINAL NORTH CAROLINA GRANT

Swannanoa River near its mouth and the Indian burying ground about a mile higher up on the east bank of the French Broad River, attest the former presence there of the Shawanoes for a long while, and this is confirmed by the name of the river Swannanoa, called in State grants of 1787 for land there Savannah River, the word Swannanoa being an obvious form of Shawano. As a further confirmation the name Swannanoa and Swanino is given to a locality at the mouth of Swannanoa river in the Rutherford expedition down that river in 1776.[65]

In regard to marriage among North American Indians it is said: "East of the Mississippi the clan and gentile systems were most highly developed. The rules against marriage within the clan or gens were strictly enforced."[66] This system of exogamy has prevailed in many parts of the earth and in many ages among many peoples and races.[67] It is rarely considered when the tribe to which a distinguished American Indian belonged is under discussion that most Indians were probably of two tribes, the father having been of one tribe and the mother of another tribe, while the descent may have been from many tribes. Thus Tecumseh was a Shawanee, his father a Shawanee and his mother a Cherokee, or, as some say, a Creek and others say a Shawnee, while his brother, the Prophet, stated that they were partly of white extraction.[68]

"The tradition of the Delawares, as embodied in the *Walum Olum,* makes themselves, the Shawnee, and the Nanticoke, originally one people, the separation having taken place after the traditional expulsion of the Talligewi***from the N. it being stated that the Shawnee went S"[70] At times the Cherokees were, for long periods, friends of the Shawnee. "The evidence afforded by the mounds shows that the two tribes lived together for a considerable period, both in South Carolina and in Tennessee, and it is a matter of history that the Cherokee claimed the country vacated by the Shawnee in both states after the removal of the latter to the

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[65]11 State Records of North Carolina, 1895, 354-355.
[66]1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1907, 809.
[67]See Dr. J. G. Frazer's elaborate work in four volumes, 1910, on Totemism and Exogamy.
[68]2 Thacher's Indian Biography, 1832, 187; 1 McKenney and Hall's Indian Tribes, 1838, 37-38.
On the Shawnees see Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 78-80.
[70]2 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 531.

N. It is quite possible that the Cherokee invited the Shawnee to settle upon their eastern frontier in order to serve as a barrier against the attacks of the Catawba and other enemies in that direction.***The earliest notices of the Carolina Shawnee represent them as a warlike tribe, the enemies of the Catawba and others, who were also the enemies of the Cherokee. In Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, is the statement, made by a Cherokee chief in 1772, that 100 years previously the Shawnee, by permission of the Cherokee, removed from Savannah r. to the Cumberland, but were afterwards driven out by the Cherokee, aided by the Chickasaw, in consequence of a quarrel with the former tribe.***The Shawnee of South Carolina***were known to the early settlers of that state as Savannahs, that being nearly the form of the name in use among the neighboring Muskhogean tribes," Creeks.[71] "The Savannah r. takes its name from this tribe, as appears from the statement of Adair, who mentions the 'Savannah r., so termed on account of the Shawano Indians having formerly lived there,' plainly showing that the two names are synonymous for the same tribe." Lawson "speaks of 'the Savanna Indians, who formerly lived on the banks of the Mississippi, and removed thence to the head of one of the rivers of South Carolina, since which, for some dislike, most of them are removed to live in the quarters of the Iroquois or Sinnagars, (Seneca), which are on the heads of the rivers that disgorge themselves into the bay of Chesapeak.'***On De l'Isle's map, also, we find the Savannah r. called 'R. des Chouanons,' with the 'Chouanons' located upon both banks in its middle course."[72] Of the Shawnees it is said that "The removal from South Carolina was gradual, beginning about 1677 and continuing at intervals through a period of more than thirty years.***The hatred cherished by the Shawnee toward the English is shown by their boast in the Revolution that they had killed more of that nation than had any other tribe."[73] The Shawnees have been known to the white people by about one hundred and sixty-six different names, of which one of those most generally employed was Satanas.[74]

[71]Ibid., 531-532.
[72]Ibid., 532.
[73]Ibid., 533.
[74]Ibid., 536-538.

"The old documents also mention a country called Huitramannaland or Whiteman's Land, otherwise Irland it Mikla or Great Ireland, supposed to include North and South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. There is a tradition among the Shawanese Indians, who emigrated some years ago from Florida and settled in Ohio, that Florida was inhabited by white people who possessed iron instruments."[75] The Icelandic Sagas mention this Huitramannaland as an established Irish settlement prior to the latter part of the tenth century.[76] If that Irish settlement be the settlement attributed to Saint Brendan as having been made about 577, it was then about four hundred years old.[77] White settlers came to Western North Carolina only after the departure of the Shawanoes, and their Indian relations were with the Cherokees only.

[75]R. H. Major's Voyages of the Venetian Brothers, Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, 1873, xciii.

[76]Norroena—Anglo-Saxon Classics—Norse Discovery of America, 1906, 7, 257-279, 340-343, 214-229; 2 Humboldt's Cosmos, Otto's translation, Harper edition, 1860, 234-236; B. F. DeCosta's Pre-Columbian Discovery of America, 1868, 63, 70, 86-88; Mallet's Northern Antiquities, Percy's translation, Bohn's edition, 1890, 189 and note, 263-266.

[77]5 S. Baring-Gould's Lives of the Saints, 1914, 217-219.

CHAPTER II
SPANISH CLAIM

Upon the fall of the Roman Empire, Europe rapidly succeeded to a civilization the greater part of whose territory and probably the foremost part of whose power and influence had been, during the days of that empire's protracted decline, in western Asia and northern Africa. Then a more advanced progress commenced in the western portion of the European continent and extended from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. With this improvement in wealth and cultivation the western European lands acquired a greater taste for the refinements and luxuries which theretofore they had not known or had scorned as effeminate. That tendency was much increased by the Crusades which had brought their leading men into contact with the voluptuous indulgencies of oriental life. The gratification of such new desires could be had only in the products of the East. Then arose a great demand on the northern shores of the Atlantic for the goods of the border lands of the eastern seas. The trade across Europe and into its occidental regions for the silks and perfumes and spices of China and India developed immense proportions and was lucrative in the extreme. All of it passed through India and Arabia and over the Mediterranean Sea. Venice found her position most favorable for the conduct of this commerce and through it quickly attained a position of immense wealth, magnificence, and power. But the transportation of oriental wares of delicate character for many hundreds of miles clear across the Asiatic continent through its immense deserts and burning sands and over its lofty mountains and wild regions by caravans of camels among bands of bandits and gangs of Bedouin robbers, fording wide and deep rivers and swamps and then by ships upon the Mediterranean and mules and horses across the continent of Europe and its great rivers, prodigious mountain ranges and arid plains, until the ponderous burdens of delicate materials and fragile substances reached a general market from which they were distributed, in further carriage, to the different countries of their destination, up to which

time they were ever subject to the dangers of insect pests and climatic and weather variations. In this long, tedious, and precarious journey by most devious routes and dilatory methods of conveyances, frequently changed from one to another, and roads often little more than rude trails, for a distance covering two continents and conveyances of most primitive fashions, many months and sometimes years were consumed and numerous carriers of many races and languages employed. It is little matter of wonder that when at last an article of this traffic reached the hands of its consumer the price at which it was obtained by him was so great that nothing but pride of rare possessions, fond display, and extravagant indulgence could induce its purchase. But this very fact contributed largely to the expensive habits of its users and the enormous profits of the business by which it was procured. So large were these profits that many dealers eagerly engaged in that famed trade to the Orient and noblemen, statesmen, monarchs and states sought its vast emoluments and cities and nations engaged in bitter rivalries and even fierce wars in order to secure its control. Great study and reflection were given to this matter of supreme commercial and national importance; and fortunes were expended and ingenuity exhausted in projects which might reduce its costs and delays and hardships.

Roman authors had transmitted in their books traditions which they had derived from their predecessors that the continent of Africa was a peninsular having a mighty ocean at its southern extremity through the waters of which ocean that continent could be passed and ships might reach from the western lands of Europe to the rich Indies and Spice Islands and even to the half fabulous Cathay and Cepango as they then called China and Japan. These authors related that in more ancient times Africa had been circumnavigated on the south by expeditions from Phenicia, Egypt and Carthage which had passed by water through the Mediterranean and Atlantic and Indian seas or in reverse directions. Herodotus states that, "the whole of Africa is surrounded by the sea. The first person who proved this, was, as far as we are able to judge, Necho, King of Egypt. When he had desisted from his attempt to join by a canal the Nile

with the Arabian Gulph, he dispatched some vessels, under the conduct of Phoenicians, with directions to pass by the Columns of Hercules, and after penetrating the Northern Ocean to return to Aegypt. These Phoenicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, entered into the Southern Ocean. On the approach of autumn they landed in Libya, and planted some corn in the place where they happened to find themselves; when this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again departed. Having thus consumed two years, they in the third doubled the columns of Hercules, and returned to Aegypt. Their relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible, for they affirmed that having sailed round Africa, they had the sun on their right hand."[1]

"While the power of Carthage was at its height, Hanno published an account of a voyage which he made from Gades to the extremity of Arabia; Himilco was also sent, about the same time to explore the remote parts of Europe. Besides, we learn from Corn. Nepos, that one Eudoxus, a contemporary of his, when he was flying from King Lathyrus, set out from the Arabian Gulf, and was carried as far as Gades."[2] If these reports could be verified and these expeditions repeated the expences, risks, losses, and delays of the eastern trade could be much diminished. The undertaking exceeded the abilities of any private person and required the powers and resources of national enterprise. To this task the kingdom of Portugal influenced by the Portuguese prince known as Henry the Navigator, addressed itself with unusual intelligence, zeal, and persistence. For several years Portuguese expeditions explored the coasts of western Africa, one advancing further south than its predecessors until the equator had been passed and on until in 1486-88, one of these expeditions, under the command of the Portuguese mariner Bartolomue Diaz, doubled the projecting land at the southern extremity of Africa and sailed for some distance northward along the eastern border of that continent. Diaz was then forced by his officers and men to turn back before he reached India. On returning to Portugal, and reporting his discovery to King

[1]Herodotus, b-4, "Melpomene," 42; 2 Beloe's translation, 1791, 216-217.
[2]Pliny the Elder's Natural History, b. 2, c. 67, 1 Bostock and Riley's translation, 1893, Bohn ed., 99; 1 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889, 25 and note 1.

John II of Portugal he called the promontory at the south end of Africa the Cape of Storms, (Cabo Tormentoso), but the king changed the name to Cabo da Boa Esperanca, (Cape of Good Hope). Then the Portuguese, under Vasco da Gama, doubled the Cape of Good Hope in November, 1497, and, in May, 1498, reached Calicut in India. Thus, at last, was realized a commerce to India around the southern extremity of Africa.

But while the explorations of the Portuguese were in progress they discovered numerous African tribes residing along the Atlantic coasts of Africa and with these peoples entered into relations of trade for slaves, gold, and ivory and among them established and maintained trading stations; and in 1456, under Cadamosto, found the Cape Verde Islands three hundred and twenty miles west of Cape Verde of the west African mainland and, through the bulge of Africa to the west, in about the same longitude as the Azores which are at least nine hundred and forty miles west from Portugal and anyhow were discovered in 1431 by the Portuguese navigator Cabral and were prior to 1492 the most western land known to the people of Europe. Of course the Portuguese, being devout religionists, claimed that in all this their principal object was to bring the Africans and orientals to a knowledge of "the true God"; and, of course, the Roman pontiff, asserting for himself jurisdiction over everything that pertained to human affairs, gave his cordial approval to what the Portuguese did to these Africans and orientals, all for "the good of the latters' souls."

Much of the benefits, however, which the Portuguese had confidently expected from this great triumph of their amazing enterprise was disappointed because of an event destined to be of more moment to mankind than all which they had achieved at such enormous cost; and that event had been as little anticipated as any event in man's history. For more than three centuries and a half before the beginning of the Christian era, men of intelligence and observation had demonstrated beyond possible refutation that the earth was spherical or nearly so. Pythogoras, the Greek philosopher who lived five hundred or six hundred years before Christ taught his followers that the earth was spher-

ical in form,[3] Parmenides, (400-350 B.C.), and even Hesiod, 860 B. C.), entertained the same view.[4] This plain fact was asserted by Hesiod, Pythagoras, and Parmenides,[5] by Posidonius, and Polybius,[7] by Plato,[8] by Aristotle,[9] by Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Cicero, and Hyginus,[10] by Livy;[11] all of whom were before Christ. After the beginning of the Christian era maintaining the same were Strabo,[12] Ovid, [13] Manilius,[14] Seneca,[15] Pliny the Elder, and Pliny the Younger,[16] and many others. Aristotle, who was contemporary with Alexander the Great and lived more than three hundred and fifty years before Christ pointed out this fact by calling attention to such visible facts as that when, in eclipse, the moon entered the earth's shadow that shadow appeared on the moon's face as an arc of a circle and only circular bodies cast circular shadows, and as that, viewed from two stations some distance north and south apart, stars seen on the northern horizon at the northern station were invisible at the southern station while stars seen at the southern horizon at the northern station were far above the southern horizon at the southern station and other stars appeared above the southern horizon at the southern station which were invisible at the northern station.

With this knowledge different learned men undertook to ascertain the exact size of the earth. All employed essentially the same plan in such attempts. One of these, a Greek philosopher by the name of Eratosthenes, born at Cyrene,

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[3]8 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, 709; 22 Idem, 698-700; Diogenes Laertius, C. D. Yonge's translation, Bohn's ed., 1891, 358, "Pythagoras."

[4]Diogenes Laertius, C. D. Yonge's translation, Bohn ed., 1891, 358, "Pythagoras."

[5]8 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, 799; Diogenes Laertius, C. D. Yonge's translation, Bohn ed., 1891, 348, 358, "Pythagoras," 384, "Parmenides."

[7]Strabo, b. 2, c. 2, s. 1, 1 Hamilton's translation, Bohn ed., 1887, 143, b. 2, c. 2, s. 3, c. 3, s. 1, pp. 144-148.

[8]3 Jowett's Plato, "Timaeus," 1892, 484; 2 Id., "Phaedo," 257; Plutarch's Platonic Questions, 5 Plutarch's Morals, 1704, 401.

[9]8 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, 799; Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 71 note; 2 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, 501-522; Diogenes Laertius, C. D. Yonge's translation, Bohn ed., 1891, 181-194; 1 Justin Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889, 3; 1 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 357.

[10]1 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889, 3; Cicero, "Paradoxes," pt. 2, Edmonds's translation, Bohn ed., 271; Ib., "Vision of Scipio," 293-297; "De Natura Deorum, b. 2, c. 39, C. D. Yonge's translation, Bohn ed., 1892, s. 3, 23, 104, Ibid., "Tusculan Disputations," b. 1, c. 28, C. D. Yonge's translation, Bohn ed., 1887, 314; Ibid., "Academic Questions," b. 2, c. 39, p. 81.

[11]History of Rome, Edmonds's translation, Bohn ed., 1896. 1627.

[12]Strabo, Hamilton's translation, Bohn ed., 1887, b. 2, c. 5, s. 5, p. 169, b. 1, c. 4, s. 6, p. 101, b. 2, c. 5, ss. 1-5, pp. 165-169.

[13]Fasti, b. 6, v. 269, Riley's translation, Bohn ed., 1890, p. 223.

[14]1 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America. 1889, 3.

[15]Id., 29.

[16]1 Pliny's Natural History, Bostock and Riley's translation, Bohn ed., 1893, 16, 94; Pliny's Letters, Orrery's translation, 1752, b. 2, l. 3, p. 102.

276 B. C., and died 194 B. C., was also a mathematician and poet, and was custodian of the great library at Alexandria established by Ptolemy Euergetus. He observed that at Syene in Upper Egypt nearly under the tropic cancer, the sun at midday was reflected by the water in a well on the summer solstice, and on the same day at midday it was not reflected by the water of a well but by one side of the interior of the well at a point above the water when the latter well was at Alexandria, known to be a certain distance north of Syene, now Assuan, namely five thousand stadia. From ascertaining at what angle from a perpendicular line up from the centre of the well at Alexandria a line dropped from the perpendicular at the top of the well to the point in the side of that well where the sun then struck that side, would make, he knew what part of a circumference of 360 degrees, the degrees of that angle would be and calculated that if that part of the circle of the earth was the known distance from Syene to Alexandria, the full circle, or circumference of the earth would be that distance multiplied by that part, namely 252,000 stadia, equal to twenty-five thousand georgaphical miles. He it was who established parallels of latitude by connecting with straight lines places north of the equator whose longest day in the year was the same length. Eratosthenes made his first parallel of latitude by observing that at the Pillars of Hercules, now the Straits of Gibraltar, the longest day in the year was fourteen and one-half hours in length and, ascertaining some other places in which the longest days in the year was of the same length as that at the Straits of Gibraltar, he placed them all upon a chart as being directly east and west from each other, and this formed the first parallel of latitude ever devised or platted. It is the parallel of latitude north 36 degrees and runs through North Carolina about thirty miles north of Asheville.[17] Parallels of longitude he made by north and south lines drawn at right angles to parallels of latitude. His measurement of the circumference of the earth was not exactly the same as that of others who ascertained the angle used and the distance employed with greater or less accuracy than he did. Long before Eratosthenes efforts had been made, similar to his, to determine the earth's circumference.

[17]6 New American Cyclopedia, 1870, 714; 20 Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 9th edition, 92; Buckley's Short History of Natural Science, 1888, 27.

"Aristotle relates that the mathematicians had found the circumference to be 400,000 stadia (about 46,000 miles). But Eratosthenes (c. 250 B. C.), appears to have been the first who entertained an accurate idea of the principles on which the determination of the figure of the earth really depends.[18] Christopher Columbus, or Colon was an experienced mariner whose birth was in Italy but his residence in Portugal. He knew of these measurements of the earth's circumference, and made some measurements for himself, in the same manner, of that circumference, reaching a result somewhat less than any of the others. He knew also the distance from Portugal to Venice and the distance which Marco Polo, a Venetian traveller, had traversed about two hundred years before in a journey from Venice to the eastern part of China. By adding these two distances and subtracting their sum total from his measurement of the distance around the earth he found that the distance of Portugal from eastern China by going west, was less than the distance of Portugal from eastern China by going east,[19] and travel by water cheaper than travel by land. He wished to test these views by making the western voyage. "He wrote to Queen Isabella in 1533 that 'the earth is smaller than people suppose.' He thought but one seventh of it was water. In sailing a direct western course his expectation was to reach Cipango after having gone about three thousand miles. This would actually have brought him within a hundred miles or so of Cape Henlopen, or the neighboring coast; while if no land had intervened he would have gone nine thousand eight hundred miles to reach Japan, the modern Cipango. Thus Columbus's earth was something like two-thirds of the actual magnitude. It can readily be understood how the lesser distance was helpful in inducing a crew to accompany Columbus, and in strengthening his own determination."[20] Moreover numerous accounts reached him of vessels which by going west found land and he concluded that this land was the eastern shore of Asia. Then objects had been picked up on the waters of the Atlantic which could not have drifted from any land with which he was acquainted. The enterprise which he contem-

[18] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., 801.
[19] Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 75.
[20] 2 Justin Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 24-25.

plated was not one, however, to be undertaken without governmental aid. Portugal was prosecuting the discovery of a way to the East around southern Africa and did not welcome a rival plan. Her sovereign rejected the proposals of Columbus. His application for aid to the sovereigns of Spain was referred to a committee of ecclesiastics of the type of the common "fundamentalists." These fanatics urged that their Bible said that the world was flat with four corners and supported by pillars and that a flat earth could not be sailed around and that their Bible was entitled to more credit than the evidences of their senses. Augustine averred that it was absurd to say that the earth is round and "scripture" proves that such a statement is false.[21] Lactantius said that it was a "monstrosity" to assert that the world was round and claim that there is such a force as gravity,[22] plainly aiming his denunciation at the assertions to that effect and that there were antipodes, assertions made by Plutarch's "On the Apparent Face in the Moon's Orb. 7, C. W. King's translation, Bohn edition, 1889, p 206. For maintaining that there could be antipodes who would not fall from the earth, Virgilius, Bishop of Salsburg, was deprived of his bishoprick.[23] The "fundamentalists" have always been ready to protect the gods. In this work they convicted and murdered Socrates and they are no whit abashed by the history of their former exploits.

At last the importunity of Columbus and Spanish jealousy of Portuguese projects prevailed on the Spanish monarchs to render some aid to Columbus upon him and his friends bearing the remainder of the preparatory costs of the effort.

Columbus started on his memorable voyage on August 3, 1492 and in October of that year discovered some islands of the West Indies which he thought belonged to India. Among the lands found by him on that first expedition were Cuba, thought by him to be Asiatic mainland, Haiti or San Domingo, called by him Hispaniola (Little Spain), and some small islands, and in 1493, on his second voyage Porto Rico named by him San Juan Bautista, (Saint John the

[21]City of God, b. 16, c. 9, M. Dod's translation, 1888, pp. 118-119.
[22]Divine Institutes, b. 3, c. 24, Ante-Nicean C. L., v. 21, pp. 196-197.
[23]George Sandys's Ovid's Metamorphosis, Englished, 1632, 20.

Baptist), and by the Indians Boriquen. On his return to Spain from his first voyage to the west, Columbus announced to the king and queen of that country what he had found among the Indians, as he called the aborigines of America and as, in consequence, they are still called. Immediately those sovereign personages began to claim the newly discovered countries as their own and to speak of the natives there as "our subjects," just as if they had done the whole thing themselves. They also decided that, by killing and robbing the Moors in Spain and by burning people who did independent thinking about religion, they had so pleased the deity that, in reward for this meritorious conduct, he had given them these new lands and new peoples to be treated by them in the same humane way for the glory of that deity and "the salvation of the souls" of those "benighted heathen" peoples. Of course in order to save these barbarians from eternal ruin, these Spanish monarchs, as exemplary religionists that they were, applied to the Roman pontiff; Alexander VI, a native Spaniard of most inodorous reputation, to give his holy sanction to their claims and purposes. That potent personage, deputy owner of all things and deputy ruler of the universe, finding that, at last, the earth was not a four-cornered plain propped upon pillars and incapable of being sailed around and forgetting the statements on that subject of his Bible and the holdings of his church and "the fundamentalists," but recognizing his perfect right to dispose of all the world and out of his holy desire to promote the everlasting welfare of the heathen Americans, issued, on May 6, 1493, his papal bull fixing a line from the north pole to the south pole of the earth and running one hundred leagues (three hundred miles) west of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, supposed by Columbus to be the line of no magnetic variation where the needle pointed to the North Star, and granting to Spain all lands west of that line which *she* had discovered, or might discover, not previous to Chrismas 1492 acquired by any Christian nation;[24] and to Portugal the lands east of that line which she had discovered or might discover, not previous to Christmas 1492 acquired by any Christian nation. Of

[24] 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 45; 2 John Boyd Thacher's Christopher Columbus, 1903, 124-137; 2 Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1905, 32-64.

course, nobody but Christians were to be considered in the matter. No one else had a right to own land or have his claim to such ownership respected by a Christian. Then the newly acquired Spanish lands were called the West Indies and the land in the east claimed thereunder by the Portuguese became the East Indies. But this division of a large part of the earth among "God's people" regardless of all others was not pleasing to the Portuguese. Both countries appointed commissioners who met at Tordesillas in Spain on June 7, 1494 and agreed that the division line should run three hundred and seventy leagues (eleven hundred and ten miles) west of the Cape Verde Islands.[25] Still only the saints aforesaid were considered. Under the new settlement the eastern part of South America fell to the Portuguese. It is one of the few worthy matters connected with the early colonization by white people of the American regions that all others than these beneficiaries of papal benevolence uniformerly ignored all claims derived from this impudent assumption and concession made by this pope to his Iberian pets. Anyhow, without another division line extending between the poles, the whole plan was impracticable, since Spain might go from the agreed line west until she had gone around the earth and come again to that line and Portugal might go east around the earth and back to that line and thus both cover in their respective claims all the earth not occupied already by Christian nations. This was because the earth would not consent to be flat with four corners and supported by props.

Promptly Spain went to work to make further explorations in the west and plant colonies there. On September 25, 1493 Columbus, in charge of a second expedition, (set out from Cadiz), which reached Haiti, San Domingo, Hispaniola, or Espanola, as it was variously called, discovered Porto Rico, which he named San Juan Bautista, in November, and returned to Spain with five hundred Indians to be sold as slaves.[26] On May 30, 1498, he started from San Lucas de Berrameda on his third voyage to the west, discovered Trinidad and the continent of South America, reached His-

[25]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 145-146; 1 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 14-15.
[26]2 Washington Irving's Columbus, 1868, 38; Barnard Shipp's DeSoto, 1881, 71.

paniola, was sent back to Spain in chains by the governor.[27] By this time it had been ascertained that these western countries were not parts of Asia, and Columbus started on his fourth western expedition from Cadiz on May 9, 1502. The object was to find a straight about Central America through which a vessel could sail to Cathay (China). He did not find the straight, but coasted along the isthmus of Panama or Darien which he called Veragua, claimed that he had reached the province next to Cathay and went back to Spain.[28] Other exploring journeys to this region were made by Spanish, English, French, and other mariners about this time.

On May 1, 1497, John Cabot, probably accompanied by his son Sebastian Cabot, started from Bristol, England, on a voyage of discovery in the west, discovered on June 24, 1497, the continent of North America; and, having found the island of Newfoundland, returned to England. Next year Sebastian Cabot, probably in company with his father, John Cabot, explored the eastern shores of North America from the icebergs in the north as far south as Cuba.[29] Thus John Cabot was the first European to discover North America and did this in 1497; Christopher Columbus was the first European to discover South America and did this in 1498. Another important voyage was that of the Spaniard, Vicente Yanez Pinzon, one of the captains in the first voyage of Columbus to the West Indies, when in 1497 or 1506 this Pinzon visited coasts of Honduras, Mexico, and Florida and is said to have first proved that Cuba was an island by circumnavigating it. In another voyage made in 1499-1500 he discovered Brazil and the Amazon River at its mouth.[30]

In 1499 Pedro Alvarez Cabral, a Portuguese navigator, was sent by the king of Portugal in command of an expedition to establish a Portuguese factory on the Malabar coast of India and form friendly relations with the rajah of Calicut. In order to avoid heavy winds on the west coast of Africa he sailed from the north at a greater distance than usual to the west of that continent and was driven by a storm on April 24, 1500, upon the shores of Brazil, which

[27]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 170, 171; 6 Washington Irving's Columbus, 1868, b. 10, c. 4.
[28]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 176, 180.
[29]1 Hakluyt's Voyages, Goldsmid edition, 1889, 19-22, 25, 31, 34, 24. 23, 28, 30.
[30]9 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 457.

he then claimed for Portugal and from which he proceeded on his way to India.[31] The greatest interest attached to this voyage grows out of the fact that it was, in no way, connected with anything which Columbus had done and conclusively shows that had Columbus never lived America would certainly have been discovered only eight years later than the first voyage of Columbus was made.[32]

By this time the discovery of a route from Europe to India, China, and the Spice Islands around the Cape of Good Hope had so far diverted the eastern trade from the Mediterranean Sea that it had nearly destroyed the prosperity of Venice and the cities on the western coasts of Italy. Gradually it had come to be recognized that Americas were not eastern portions of Asia but intervening lands. Then began numerous explorations in order to find a passage through these obstructions in order that vessels might go by this western way to China, India and the eastern islands. Many claims of success proved failures. Columbus made the first of these attempts in 1502 on his fourth western voyage. All had met with no success until Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in the Spanish service, on an expedition which was the first to circumnavigate the earth, while trying "to find his way by a western route to the Spice Islands of the East," and on November 28, 1520, passed south of South America through the straits called for him as their discoverer, the Straits of Magellan, entered the ocean which bears the name of Pacific, bestowed by him and discovered the Phillippine Islands on April 27, 1521.[33] This passage around the southern end of South America was so far out of the way and so difficult that it gave very little aid to the seekers. Consequently the quest continued. Those who at an early day became acquainted with the Albemarle Sound in North Carolina and the Roanoke River which empties into that sound supposed that those waters furnished such a passway. The Indians employed the same expressions to indicate mountain ranges and ocean waves and when they told the members of Sir Walter Raleigh's first colony that great mountains were at the head of the Roanoke, called by

[31]2 Nelson's Encyclopaedia. 1907, 424; 4 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., 454.
[32]2 Pinkerton's Geography, 1804, 899, sec. 1300; Southey's History of Brazil, 1823, 40.
[33]12 Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906. 142, 143; 7 Nelson's Encyclopeadia, 1907, 519.

them "Moratoc," River, from which issued the streams which formed that watercourse they were understood to say that at its head was the great sea whose waters splashed over to make that river.[34] It was part of the object of those colonists to find "a passage to the South sea or some way to it,"[35] as it had been the object in 1583, of "Letters patents of the Queenes Majestie, granted to Master Adrian Gylbert and others, for the search and discouer of the Northwest Passage to China."[36] The South Seas was the early name of the Pacific Ocean.[37] Hence in the Charter of King Charles 1, to Sir Robert Heath for land including the present North Carolina, August 4, 1629, the description of the country granted commences "all that River or Rivelett of St. Matthew on the South side & all that River or Rivelett of the great passe on the north side,"[38] the "River or Rivelett of the great passe" being the Albemarle Sound and Roanoke River. The search continued for a northwest passage for centuries in vain. At last it was discovered, through ice and other obstructions which render it useless, in 1852 by Captain R. J. L. M'Clure.[39] It is said that "we read in the works of Lepage Dupratz, that an Indian of the name of Yazoa had accomplished the journey" of the Northwest Passage prior to 1728.[40] An absorbing desire to obtain more abundantly, expeditiously and cheaply the luxuries of the orient had advanced navigation and the knowledge of geography and led to the discovery of a new world. But the tendency of that progress and revelation had been to depreciate that which had brought them about. In the years of the Crusades men's attention in Europe had been almost restricted to war and religion. That period had been followed by one in which public thought and energy were directed exclusively to eastern commerce and religion. That period was a formative one. The results of its strenuous endeavor, fostered by war and commerce, extended immensely the subjects of men's activities and by bringing into consideration new matters of interest, diverted their labors into channels before

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[34]2 Hakluyt's Voyages, Goldsmid edition, 1889, 306, 311.
[35]Ibid., 311.
[36]1 Ibid., 219.
[37]First Charter to the Lords Proprietors. 1663, s. 2, 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837. 438; Second Charter to same, 2 Rev. Stat., 1837, N. C., p. 2.
[38]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 6.
[39]Chambers's Encyclopedia, "Northeast and Northwest Passages."
[40]A. M. Hart's History of the Valley of the Mississippi, 1860, 79.

RENE ROBERT CAVALIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE, GREATEST FRENCH EXPLORER OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

ignored while they diminished the importance of traffic with the Asiatics. Some of the same pursuits continued but for enlarged purposes. Exploration and discovery on land and sea and even in the sky had been induced by this wider range of reflection and investigation and hundreds of new objects had been brought into the sphere of business enterprise and reduced the dominant influence of the "Spice Islands" and Cathay. Here once more the supposed fables of ancient philosophers revived into facts of powerful weight.

Pythagoras and the wise men of his school had taught that the sun did not swing in diurnal circles about the earth in order to give the latter warmth and light, but, instead, that the earth's daily revolutions upon its own axes gave sunshine to all its parts by bringing those parts consecutively under the sun's rays and the earth's annual circuit around the sun brought summer and winter alternately to northern and southern terrestrial hemispheres. But here again the ever ready and blundering "fundamentalists" raised their clamorous protests. The Bible said that day and night were caused by the movements of the sun around the earth and that when the sun stood still upon a hill in Palestine the day was correspondingly prolonged. Hence these teachings of Pythagoras were false and must be promptly discarded. And promptly discarded they were, for that "fundamentalism" always relied upon the support of rabbledom and its mighty demagogues. But a new force had arisen, the force of candid intelligence. Before that force such "fundamentalism" must ever retire sooner or later. These things are mentioned, not for theological controversy of today, but as involved in a complete statement of the influences avowed and powerful in the periods under discussion, whatever they have been since.

When the Portuguese crossed the tropics in circumnavigating Africa they found that when it was summer north of the tropic of Cancer it was winter south of the tropic of Capricorn and the reverse when it was winter north of the tropic of Cancer. Spanish sailors found the same thing when crossing the tropics in the oceans bordering on South America and the eastern seas.

A Prussian astronomer named Nicholas Copernicus, recognized now as "the father of modern astronomy," caught

up the ideas of the heavenly bodies inculcated by Pythagoras, and after many years of labor, completed in 1530 his great work, *De Revolutionibus, Orbium Caelestium,* in which he demonstrated that the sun is the centre of the astronomical system to which the earth belongs and the earth and planets revolve around that central body, from which it follows that those revolutions produce the terrestrial seasons while day and night at any place is due to the turning of the earth upon its own axes every twenty-four hours. Copernicus knew the power and malice of the "fundamentalism" of his day, and feared its persecution. For thirteen years he withheld his book from publication and issued it only in 1543, the year of his death. Ere long the Catholic Church put his book upon their Index of books prohibited as being subversive of truth. It is not there now. But that exclusive receptacle of inspired truth kept it there until, after one hundred and forty years had passed, in 1757 "fundamentalism" backed down, forgot what its Bible said about the sun standing still in Palestine in order to prolong the day, and quietly dropped the book of Copernicus from its list of false and pernicious literature.[40] In the mean time those holy individual arbiters of what should be allowed to be scientific fact had lost much of their ability to burn people for thinking and accepting and teaching the facts revealed by nature, but not until their Inquisition had interdicted as anti-biblical the book of Galileo for advocating the truths established by Copernicus and placed it upon their Index and forced Galileo himself to publicly abjure those truths.

Nor was the Catholic Church alone in its persecution of truth. One Martin Luther, a German and self-constituted anti-Catholic pope, called Copernicus an "upstart astrologer," and declared that, "This fool wishes to reverse the entire science of astronomy; but the Sacred Scripture tells us that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still and not the earth."[41] Melancthon, another religious authority of that day, said: "It is a want of honesty and decency to assert such notions publicly, and the example is pernicious."[42] John Calvin, the great Presbyterian leader and authority, de-

[40]3 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 360.
[41]J. Wheless's Is It God's Word?, 1926, 268.
[42]Ibid.

cided that, "The world also is established, that it cannot be moved," and asked triumphantly, "Who will put the authority of Copernicus above that of the Holy Spirit?"[43] Then John Wesley, founder of Methodism, proclaimed about Copernicus that, "His pretended discovery vitiates the whole Christian Plan of Salvation. It casts suspicion on the doctrine of Incarnation. It upsets the whole basis of Theology. If the earth is a Planet, and only one among several planits, it cannot be that any such great things have been done for it as the Christian Doctrine teaches. If there are other planets, since God makes nothing in vain, they must be inhabited; but how can their inhabitants be descended from Adam? How can they trace their origin back to Noah's Ark? How can they be redeemed by the Saviour?"[44] In 1618-1619 John Kepler published his *Epitomy of Copernican Astronomy and his Harmonices Mundi,* in which he showed that the planets revolve in elipses and gave their laws of movement. The Protestant Consistory of Stuttgard warned him, "not to throw Christ's Kingdom into confusion with his silly fancies," but bring his theory of the world into harmony with Scripture."[45] G. Bruno, an Italian, published a book in which he reflected upon some things Catholic and another in which he advocated Copernican astronomy. In 1593 he was arrested by the Italian Inquisition and imprisoned; and when he refused to recant was burned at the stake in 1600 by the Holy Inquisition.[46] The Holy Office, on Galileo's persecution, avowed that "the doctrine of the double motion of the earth about its axis and about the sun is false, and entirely contrary to the Holy Scripture."[47]

The discovery of America with its untouched resources and wonderful revelations opened up a new chapter in civilization and inspired activities which, however deformed with passion, greed, and vice, still broadened the range of human thought and opportunity.

[43]Ibid.
[44]Ibid.
[45]Ibid., 269; 7 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 95.
[46]2 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 347; J. Wheless's Is It God's Word?, 1926, 269.
[47]J. Wheless's Is It God's Word?, 1926, 269-270; 5 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 276.

"Yet, I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

No longer satisfied to take only what nature and chance provided, men began then, as never before for centuries, to open highways of adventure and enterprise for themselves, to search out nature's secrets, and turn those secrets to the use of mankind. If the way around southern Africa to the east was long and dangerous, they would make a safer and shorter way. If they could find no natural outlet through America, they would make one. Here again recourse was had to the undertakings and plans which it was reputed that the ancients had conceived and at least partially executed. These things must be prepared for and accomplished in the employment of new facilities that the ancients knew nothing of and by the use of instruments which the ancients did not have.

The Indian Ocean was connected with the Red Sea by the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb and but a short neck of land intervened between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, while not far from the Red Sea to the west the river Nile poured its floods through Egypt into this latter sea. That a waterway could be made between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea was an old project which centuries before had been accomplished with limited capacity.

About six hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era Pharaoh Necho, as Herodotus says, or the mythical Sesostris, as Aristotle, Strabo and Pliny the Elder say, began a canal to connect the waters of the Mediterranean Sea with those of the Red Sea.[48] Some say that this canal was finished by Darius, King of Persia; others that it was finished by the Ptolemies. It was choked by sand and reopened early in the second century by the Roman Emperor Trajan.[49] Again choked by sand, it was again reopened, this time by the Arab General Amrou, when Omar

[48]Diodorus Siculus, Booth's translation, 1721, 16; Herodotus II., 157, Cary's translation, Bohn ed., 1891, 158, 159-160; Rawlinson's translation, v. 2, 205 and note, 1859; Pliny's Natural History, b. 6, c. 33, Bostock and Riley's translation, 1890, v. 2, 92; Strabo, b. 1, c. 2. s. 31, b. 17, c. 1, s. 25. Hamilton and Falconer's translation, Bohn ed., v. 1, p. 61 and note, v. 3, pp. 243-245 and notes; Barnard Shipp's The Indian and the Antiquities of America, 1897, 398-400.

[49]Standard Classical Atlas, Bell & Sons, map XXII.. Aegyptus.

was Caliph.[50] It was once more choked by sand A. D. 767. Of this canal other authorities say that it connected the most eastern branch of the Nile with the Red Sea, ran from the neighborhood of Bubastis to Arsinoe (Suez) on the Red Sea, was begun by Sesostris, who reigned from 1394 to 1328 B. C., and completed by Ptolemy Philadelphus II, about 277 B. C.; partly closed by sand; reopened and extended in the direction of Old Cario by Amrou who wished to connect it directly with the Mediterranean, but was prevented by Omar lest corsairs should use it; it was filled up in 775 by Ali Mansour in order to hinder the passage of rebel troops from Arabia but leaving traces, part of which were covered by the present canal. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Venetian Republic sought permission to cut through the Isthmus of Suez but the privilege of doing this was refused by the Mamuluke Sultans of Egypt.[51] According to other ancient authorities the first canal in the region was built by Seti I, between 1328 or 1380 B. C., and 1203 B. C., and a picture of it was put on the walls of Karnak erected at the same time and part of its channel can yet be traced.[52] When Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt he caused a survey to be made of the Isthmus of Suez looking to the connection of the Mediterranean and Red Seas by a canal but abandoned the project when his engineer Lepere reported that the low water level of the Mediterranean differed from the high water level of the Red Sea by thirty feet thus repeating an error which in ancient days had led to abandonment of the same great enterprise. About 1845 a French engineer named Ferdinand de Lesseps planned the present Suez Canal or canals, for it consists of a saltwater way for ships and a nearly parallel fresh water canal for part of the distance. The work was begun in 1860 and the canal opened for vessels on November 16, 1869 between Port Said on the Mediterranean Sea, and Suez at the northern extremity of the Red Sea and runs through the Isthmus of Suez in Egypt but near the western border of the continent of Asia.[53] As indicating the popular idea of the cen-

[50]Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, c. 51, 1807, p. 444.
[51]27 Voltaire's Works, 1901, 171; Havelock Ellis's note on the poetical works of Christopher Marlowe, Mermaid Series, 1887, p. 164, Tamburlaine the Great, Part 2, act 5, scene 3.
[52]11 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 524; 4 Idem., 23; 7 Idem., 70; 26 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, 22-25.
[53]26 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, 23; Stanley Lane Poole's Social Life in Egypt, a Supplement to Picturesque Palestine, 131.

tury before that in which this stupendous project was accomplished, the humorous collection of supposed impossibilities published then under the name of The Travels and Surprising Adventures of Baron Munchausen; refers to a canal through the Isthmus of Suez as follows:

"I now proceeded to the Isthmus of Suez, at the head of a million of Russian pioneers, and there united my forces with a million of Turks, armed with shovels and pick axes. ***I drove my chariot with all my might in the direction I indicated.***Finding that our labors were likely to be heavy, owing to the difficulty of cutting through sand, I ordered the Russians and Turks to follow my wonderful ram, and carefully batten the sand I should throw up against the banks on each side. But it took heavy work and many hands, and many ingenious contrivances to complete this great undertaking. At length, however, I had the pleasure of seeing the blue waters of the Mediterranean flow through the Red Sea, and the canal was made. In a few days we had the pleasure of seeing a fleet of British East Indiamen in full sail through the canal. The officers of the fleet were very polite, and paid me every applause and congratulation my exploits could merit."[54] Many a laughable absurdity of that day is a common place fact of this day. The Suez Canal was not the only conquest over the natural obstructions to commerce which the extended and increased powers of men, achieved since the discovery of America in the fifteenth century, have gained. Among these is the Panama Canal. Immediately after that discovery Spain planted a colony in the island of Hispaniola and began further explorations, conquests, and colonizations in the great western world. The reduction of Hispaniola was effected chiefly under Christopher Columbus, in 1494.[55] Porto Rico was conquered by Juan Ponce de Leon about 1509.[56] In 1502 Christopher Columbus, on his fourth voyage, sailed along the shores of the Isthmus of Panama or Darien. Spanish adventurers began to attempt to procure authority to colonize those regions. The country there was divided into two provinces, one from Cape Vela to the Gulf of Darien was

[54]The Adventure of Baron Munchausen from the best English and German editions, New York, 171-174; The Travels and Surprising Adventures of Baron Munchausen, v. 2, 1883, c. 33, pp. 119-120.
[55]Washington Irving's Columbus, 1868, b. 8, c. 7.
[56]Barnard Shipp's Hernando de Soto and Florida, 1881, 71.

named New Andalusia and the other to Gracias a Dios, Veragua. In 1510 Martin Fernandez Ensico founded on the western side of the Gulf of Darien near its head a Spanish settlement which he named Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien, the first approximately permanent settlement of white men on either of the American continents, lasting until 1519.[57] Among the Spanish adventurers who had come to the West Indies was Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a native of Xeres de los Caballeros. He came to Hispaniola in 1500 and in 1510 went with Ensico on an expedition to relieve Alonso de Ojeda, another Spanish adventurer who had years before, come to America and obtained from Spain title to New Andalusia where he had formed a Spanish settlement called San Sebastian on the Gulf of Darien in which settlement he was besieged by the Indians. Ojeda had escaped in person when the expedition arrived.[58] In 1513 Balboa was made governor or captain general of Darien by Diego Columbus.[59] In September, 1513 he crossed the mountains of the Isthmus of Panama in order to verify statements of the natives that there was a great water beyond; and, on the 25th of that month, from a high peak of those mountains, was the first of Europeans to have a view of the American side of the Pacific Ocean. On the 29th he entered the waters of that ocean, naming it the South Sea (Mar del Sul), and formally took possession of that sea and its bordering lands for the kingdom of Castile. He named the ocean South Sea because the isthmus lies east and west and this water lay south of it. Many years passed before that name was superseded by that of Pacific Ocean. The bay where he reached that great water he called the Gulf of San Miguel and it is still so called.[60] At one time it was not uncommon to call that portion of the Atlantic Ocean which borders on Central America the North Sea by way of contradistinction from the South Sea (Pacific), which lies on the opposite side of Central America. Knowing that the ocean east of North and South America is the Atlantic and the ocean west of North and South America is the Pacific, it some-

[57]Ib., 3-4.
[58]4 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 401; 4 Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1894, 567-568. In 1513.
[59]1 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 536; 4 Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1894, 567-568.
[60]1 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 536-537.

times puzzles people when for the first time they are made aware of the fact that the Pacific entrance to the Panama Canal is much further east than the Atlantic entrance to that canal. They are surprised to learn that a large part of the waters of the Atlantic is farther west than a large part of the waters of the Pacific and the most western shore of the Atlantic is at least two thosuand miles west of the most eastern shore of the Pacific. In the meanwhile in 1514, Ferdinand, King of Spain, appointed Pedro Arias de Avila, sometimes called Davila and more frequently Pedrarias, to be governor of Darien and assigned to him command of fifteen vessels and twelve hundred soldiers, up to that time the largest force ever sent to America. The latter arrived in the Gulf of Darien in June, 1514. When Balboa returned from discovering the Pacific he found that he had been superseded in the governorship by Pedrarias. He was sent by the latter to explore the South Sea. With great labor he transported across the isthmus, on the backs of Indians, plans for building ships and prepared for the exploration, when he was arrested at the command of Pedrarias, falsely convicted of treason and executed at Acla.[61] The country was now called Castilla del Oro, Golden Castile, and, in 1519, Pedrarias removed the government from Santa Maria de la Antigua to Panama (Old Panama) where, in the mean time he had formed a settlement and built that first American town of Europeans on the Pacific shores.[62]

Meanwhile the effort to penetrate the Americas with a shipway had not relaxed. Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, one of Balboa's men, appears to have been the first to propose a canal through the Isthmus of Panama. In fact, he made, between 1517 and 1529, surveys through Central America for a ship canal by four ways, namely: 1. From the Gulf of San Miguel to Uraba; 2. From Panama to Nombre de Dios; 3. Through Lake Nicaragua; 4. Across Tehuantepec. In 1520 two Flemish engineers surveyed a line across the Isthmus of Panama. Engineers of Pedrarias recommended a canal through Lake Nicaragua. In 1534 the Spanish governor caused part of the river Chagres to be made navigable and the imperial authorities concluded that the cost

[61]Ibid., 537; Barnard Shipp's Hernando de Soto and Florida, 1881, 4.
[62]Barnard Shipp's Hernando de Soto and Florida, 1881, 4.

of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama would be too great. Examinations by the routes of Panama, Nicaragua, Darien, and Tehuantepec were made in 1550, 1551, 1567. 1616, 1715, 1774, 1779, 1788, 1814, 1828, 1829, 1837, 1843, 1844, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1853, 1854, 1857 1858, 1869, and 1876, by different nations and people but failed of results. Between 1850 and 1855 a New York company built an inter-oceanic railway, forty-seven and three-fourth miles long, from Aspinwall, now Colon, on the Atlantic to Panama on the Pacific. In 1875, 1878 and 1879 a congress was prepared for and met at Paris, France, under the auspices of Ferdinand de Lesseps, engineer of the Suez Canal, in 1859-1869, with a view to build a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, and a company was formed for that purpose with De Lesseps as president, and work was commenced; but the undertaking failed because of bad management, corruption, incompetence, and other causes. Other canal projects were entered on and fell through. After long efforts negotiations begun in 1901, passing through many complications, ended in the building by the United States of America across the Isthmus of Panama of a ship canal, opened January 7. 1914, between Colon and Panama about fifty miles long.[68]

Thus after more than four hundred years was solved one of the great problems presented by the discovery of America. Already there has arisen a strong probability that before a great while will be constructed another or others of the American canals between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans so long discussed. Again has evaporated into solid fact the jesting humor of the Munchausen stories.

"Sensible of what general benefit it would be to mankind, I immediately formed a plan of cutting a canal across the isthmus from sea to sea. For this purpose I drove my chariot with the greatest impetuosity repeatedly from shore to shore in the same track tearing up the rocks and earth thereby, and forming a tolerable bed for the water. Gog and Magog next advanced at the head of a million of people from the realms of North and South America and from Europe, and with infinite labor cleared away the earth, &c.,

[68]E. Bennett's History of the Panama Canal, 97-113; 20 Encyclopaedia Britannica. 11th edition, 666-671.

that I had ploughed up with my chariot. I then again drove my chariot making the canal wider and deeper, and ordered Gog and Magog to repeat their labor as before. The canal being a quarter of a mile broad and three hundred yards in depth, I thought it sufficient, and immediately let in the waters of the sea. I did imagine that from the rotary motion of the earth on its axis from west to east, the sea would be higher on the eastern than on the western coast, and that on the uniting of the two seas there would be a strong current from the east, and it happened just as I expected. The sea came in with tremendous magnificence and enlarged the bounds of the canal, so as to make a passage of some miles broad from ocean to ocean, and make an island of South America. Several sails of trading vessels and men-of-war sailed through this new channel to the South Seas, China, &c., and saluted me with their cannon as they passed. I looked through my telescope at the moon and perceived the philosophers there in great commotion. They could plainly discern the alteration on the surface of our globe and thought themselves somehow interested in the enterprise of their fellow mortals in a neighboring planet. They seemed to think it admirable that such little things as we men would attempt so magnificent a performance, that would be observable even in a separate world. Thus having wedded the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea, I returned to England."[1]

Even more wonderful in promotive agencies of world commerce than the Suez Canal and Panama Canal and even than the discovery of America, Australia, and other new lands itself, is the introduction of steam navigation, electric and radio communication, and aerial transportation. Still the "fundamentalists" look back to Genesis and demand that science go not an inch beyond the knowledge and views of that ancient day.

While settlements were forming on the shores of Central America by Spanish colonists that people were active elsewhere. In Hispaniola "Nicholas de Ovando resided from 1501 to 1509. It was during his administration that Sebastian de Ocampo circumnavigated the Island of Cuba, and

[1]The Travels and Surprising Adventures of Baron Munchausen. v. 2, 1883, c. 32. pp. 117-118; The Adventures of Baron Munchausen from the best English and German editions, New York, 159-162.

thus demonstrated it was an island, of which previously there were doubts. And here, in 1509, Diego Columbus, the son of the Admiral, arrived as governor, and remained until 1515, and from 1520 to 1523; during whose administration settlements were attempted in New Andalusia and Veragua, Santa Maria de la Antigua founded, Jamaica settled, the pearl fisheries established at the Island of Cubagua, and Cuba conquered and settled."[2] The Spaniard Diego de Velasquez, or Velasquez assisted in the conquest of Hispaniola and in 1511 to 1513 conquered Cuba and in 1514 began settlements in that island of which he was governor.[3]

One of that immense number of Spanish warriors who swarmed to America, on its discovery, in search of gold was Juan Ponce de Leon, born in San Servas, Spain, in 1460. He had fought with the Moors in Spain, accompanied Christopher Columbus on the latter's second voyage to the west, joined in the expedition of Nicholas de Ovando to Hispaniola, been governor of part of that island in 1508, conquered Porto Rico and been its governor in 1510 and lost that position in 1512. Some Indians told him that far to the north there was a land abundant in gold and having a river which would restore youth to any who lacked it but would bathe in that stream and that in an island of the Bahama group called Bimini far out in the ocean was a fountain of perpetual youth. Believing these tales Ponce de Leon, at his own expence, provided two or three ships and started on March 3, 1512, from Porto Rico in search of these wonderful lands of wealth and juvenility. Failing to find Bimini, he came on April 2, 1512 to a land in thirty-eight degrees and eight minutes north latitude which he had first sighted on Sunday, March 27. He landed, took possession in the name of the Spanish sovereigns, called the country Florida because he had first seen it on Palm Sunday or because it was covered with flowers, or had many date trees which the Spaniards called Pascua de Flores, explored the shores, southern and eastern, encountered bitter hostility from the Indians, found no gold or rejuvenating waters, and went back home. Going to Spain he obtained permission to conquer and govern this land of his discovery. Then he went

[2]Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 4-5.
[3]12 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 394-395; 3 Ib. 487.

with three ships in 1513, or as others say with two ships in 1521, and landed in Florida. The Indians repulsed him, killed many of his men and wounded him. De Leon went to Cuba where not long afterwards he died.[4] "The Council of the Indies claimed that since 1510 fleets and ships had gone to Florida, and Florida is shown on the Cantino map of 1502."[5] On the Cantino map of 1502 see 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 107-107, where is a cut of the map and some account of it.

Some of the soldiers who had gone with Pedrarias to Darien later, by permission, went to Cuba. After about two years, they joined with some wealthy people of Cuba in an expedition, commanded by Francisco de Cordova, to discover new lands. In 1517 it sailed from Ajaruco or Jaruco in Cuba, reached the coast of Central America and sailed westwardly along it, passed Campeachy, passed Indian villages, landed for water, was attacked by natives, its men were reduced by sixty-four in losing them in slain and prisoners, destroyed its smallest vessel, came to the coast of Florida and there fought with Indians, and at length entered the Puerto de Carenas, now Havana, having seen stone houses and obtained treasures and curiosities which created much excitement. Some deemed the people whom the expedition had observed to be "descendants of the Jews whom Titus and Vespasian had driven from Jerusalem."[6] According to some authorities this expedition was under Hernandez de Cordova, a hidalgo of Cuba, and started to the near Bahama Islands, in search for slaves, on February 8, 1517, but was driven by winds out of its course and came to a country sighted by Solis and Pinzon in 1506. The land was Yucatan. Some say that when Cordova asked the natives its name they answered 'Tectetan," I do not understand you, and that the Spaniards thought the natives said Yucatan. Others say that the name was derived from the plant *yuca*

[4]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 225; Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 71-80; Historia Mundi or Mercator's Atlas of Judocus Hondy, 1635, 900; Garcilasso, Barnard Shipp's translation of French version. 1881, pt. 1, b. 1, c. 3, p. 239; Washington Irving's Columbus, "Juan Ponce de Leon," "Companions of Columbus," 1868; 9 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 534-535.

[5]10 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th edition, 543.

[6]Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 6-10.

and *tale*, the hill in which it is planted. Still others say that the name was a corruption of the Indian word Ouyonchatan, "Listen to what they say."[7]

The governor of Cuba, Diego Velasquez, sent out an expedition of four vessels under Juan de Grijalva with two hundred men to further explore this country of Yucatan which Cordova had so visited, get gold and silver and, if advisable, form a colony there. Grijalva reached Yucatan, passed along the coast seen by Cordova and further westwardly to an island near the coast, found on the island a temple with priests offering human sacrifices by order of the people of Culua which the interpreter mispronounced "Olua," in consequence and because it was Saint John's day they named the island San Juan de Ulua, sent the treasures thus far collected to Velasquez, and proceeded northward to a promontory from which they returned with more treasure to the amount of 4000 pesos (dollars) to Cuba.[8]

Velasquez fitted out a new expedition to conquer this rich country which he called New Spain and gave the command to Hernando Cortez, a Spaniard living in Cuba. This expedition of five hundred and eight soldiers, sixteen horses, and eleven vessels, set out from Cozumel, an island near Yucatan out from Cuba, on March 4, 1519 and arrived at San Juan de Ulua, Mexico. Taking advantage of the hostility of Indian tribes near Mexico to the Mexicans and outdoing the Indians themselves in perfidy, Cortez conquered Mexico, found there a wealth and civilization very much greater than anything of the kind before seen in America by Europeans, destroyed the City of Mexico, robbed and enslaved the Mexicans, imprisoned and caused the death of their emperor (war chief) Montezuma, overthrew their religion and temples, "for the good of their souls," murdered their people, perpetrated all the crimes of all invaders, and increased, so far as possible, the reputation for peculiar infamy of the Spanish conquerors, while he flooded Spain with stolen treasures. The Spaniards had found gold mines in Hispaniola and Cuba and made slaves of the Indians in these islands to work the mines. Unaccustomed to such labor the Indians perished in great numbers.

[7] W. H. Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, b. 11, c. 1.
[8] Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 10-13.

In the conquest of Cuba by Velasquez through Narvaez the Spaniards had acquired such a reputation for fiendish cruelty that "One chief, indeed, Hatuey, having fled originally from St. Domingo to escape the oppression of its invaders, made a desperate resistance, for which he was condemned by Velasquez to be burned alive. It was he, who made that memorable reply, more eloquent than a volume of invective. When urged at the stake to embrace Christianity, that his soul might find admission into heaven, he inquired if the white men would go there. On being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed, 'Then I will not be a Christian; for I would not go again to a place where I must find men so cruel!'" This story was told by the ecclesiastic Las Casas.[9]

In the conquest by Juan Ponce de Leon of the island of Porto Rico (Boriquen), in 1509, "One of the most efficient warriors was a dog named Berecillo, renowned for courage, strength, and sagacity. It is said that he could distinguish those of the Indians who were allies from those who were enemies of the Spaniards. To the former he was docile and friendly, to the latter fierce and implacable. He was the terror of the natives, who were unaccustomed to powerful and ferocious animals, and he did more service in this wild warfare than several soldiers. His master received for the service of this dog the pay and share of booty assigned to a cross-bow-man, which was the highest stipend given."[10] "Oviedo (*Hist. Gen. y: Nat., Book* 29, *Chap.* III), tells us that Becerrico was the sire of an almost equally famous dog, Leoncico by name, that belonged to Vasco Nunez, who also received a full man's share of booty. It was said that this dog could differentiate between a peaceful and a hostile Indian by sense of smell and was never known to make a mistake. He earned for his master more than 2000 pesos of gold. (Spanish Conquest of Americ a by Sir Arthur Helps, Vol. 1, p. 278) ***Indeed according to Colonel Richardson there is also a 'regimental scent' and a 'national scent.' In his book 'British War Dogs,' Colonel Richardson says, that the many dogs in France readily recognized any man belonging to their own regiment and

[9]1 W. H. Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, 1856, b. 2, c. 1, p. 22 and note 7; Peter Heylyn's Cosmographie, 1657, 1017.
[10]Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 75.

also differentiated at once between the Germans and the British troops."[12]

More slaves were needed. Mirvelo, the pilot who had accompanied Juan Ponce de Leon in the latter's second attempt on Florida, commanded a caravel to trade with Indians and was driven by a storm upon the Florida coast. He was treated kindly by the inhabitants, and returned to Hispaniola.

"At the same time seven of the richest men of Saint Domingo formed a company and sent two vessels to the islands of Florida, in order to bring from them Indians to work in the mines which they possessed in common. These vessels landed at the cape which was named Saint Helena; because they arrived there on the anniversary of that saint. They passed thence to a river which they called the Jourdain from the name of him who discovered it. The Spaniards landed at this place, and the inhabitants of the country, who had not yet seen ships, were led to consider them as supernatural things. They were also astonished at the fashion of the attire of the strangers, and at seeing men with beards. But that did not prevent them from receiving them kindly; for they gave them marten skins, some silver, and some seed pearls. The Spaniards made them presents in return, and induced them, by their caresses, to visit the vessels. The Indians who trusted to these appearances of friendship, to the number of one hundred and thirty, entered the ships. Our people immediately weighed anchor, and went, with all sail, to Saint Domingo. But only one of the two vessels arrived at port, and also they did not profit by their prize. These poor savages, in despair of having been deceived, abandoned themselves to grief, and starved themselves to death." This voyage is by other writers ascribed to Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon as his first.[13] Anyhow, he was one of those who sent out the expedition in 1520;[14] and "In 1524 he sent more ships to Florida, and was so elated with the accounts he had from them, of the fertility of the soil, and the great plenty of gold, silver, and pearls to be found there,

[12]A. H. Trapman's Man's Best Friend, 1928, pp. 21, 141.
[13]Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 610-611; Garcilasso as translated by Shipp in the same work. pt. 1, b. 3. p. 239.
[14]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 279-281.

that he hastened thither himself the next year with three ships; but having lost one of them when near the Cape of St. Helen, and two hundred of his people whom he landed there being entirely destroyed by the natives, more through their own negligence and supine security than the bravery of the inhabitants, disappointed of his wishes, and broken-hearted he returned back again to Hispaniola." After the first voyage De Ayllon was given permission by the Emperor, Charles V. to conquer Chicorie, one of the provinces of Florida" and govern it and the order of San Iago was conferred on him. In 1524 Mirvelo was his pilot, but he could not recognize the place and lost his reason and his life. Ayllon's admiral ship was lost in the Jourdain (Santee). This time the Indians deceived him with professions of friendship, led him into the interior and killed and wounded many of his men.[15] Francisco de Garay, a Spaniard, accompanied Columbus in 1493 and later was governor of Jamaica. In 1518 he was made Adelantado and governor of the provinces on the river San Pedro and San Pablo and all the countries he should discover. Fitting out in 1519 three vessels with two hundred and forty sailors, some cavalry, cross-bowmen, and musketeers, he put them under the command of Alonso Alvarez de Pineda. The expedition went to Florida and landed in twenty-five degrees north latitude, but were beaten off by the Indians with heavy losses. They sailed along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico west and south five hundred leagues from Florida to the river Panuco, Mexico, where the Indians massacred Pineda and most of his troops. The survivors escaped in a vessel to Vera Cruz, Mexico.[16] In the Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, second series, by B. F. French, 1875, he says in a note on pages 243-244: "Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda was ordered by Francisco de Garay, Governor of Jamaicia, in 1519, to explore the coast of the *Gulf of Mexico*, and in sailing along the coast he discovered the mouths of the Mississippi and explored all the shore from *Panuco* to *Cape Florida*, and directing his course north, he found that Florida was not an island, but a peninsula, joined to a great continent, (Nav-

[15]Garcilasso, Shipp's translation, 240 and note 611.
[16]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 275-277; Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 47-70.

PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES, SPANISH ADVENTURER. FOUNDER OF ST. AUGUSTINE AND LEADER OF THE SPANISH ASSAULT ON RIBAULT'S EXPEDITION AT FORT CAROLINE

arete Viages Menores), in the north, and afterwards returned to Vera Cruz."[18] In the same work on page 10, in a note the same author says: "The honor of the first discovery of the Mississippi (Colbert) River in 1519, belongs to the Spaniards, which Navarrete, the Spanish historian, conclusively establishes, in his work entitled *'Colleccion de los viages y descu brimientos*, etc., vol. 3, p. 64. ***Don Alonzo Alvarez Pineda, an officer in the service of Don Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamacia, surveyed a great part of this northern coast, in 1519, and discovered the Mississippi River, which he named, *"Rio del Espiritu Santo*, and afterwards inscribed the name on their maps and charts," and that DeSoto well knew that river "under that name when he set out to explore Florida."

Estevan (Stephen) Gomes, a Portuguese, was a mariner and explorer in the service of Spain and was appointed a pilot in 1518 and, in 1519, was the pilot of Magellan's ship, San Antonio, on the celebrated voyage which first circumnavigated the earth. On March 27, 1523 he obtained from the Emperor Charles V. a concession to seek with a single ship for the northwest passage, but the King of Portugal objected. Gomes was in 1524 a Spanish witness at the council which met at Badajos to settle disputes between Spain and Portugal about the new world, which council accomplished nothing. Then he proceeded on his search for the northwest passage, leaving Corunna in February, 1525 and being absent ten month without success. No account of his voyage exists. Some say that in America he sailed north, others say south, others that he explored Hudson River, others that he landed in South Carolina. On a map of 1529 by Diego Robero the discoveries of Gomez are laid down as from Cape Breton westward about three hundred leagues to a point where the coast trends southward. This is marked, "The Country of Stephen Gomez, which he discovered at the command of his Majesty, in the year 1525. There are here many trees and fruits similar to those in Spain and many walruses and salmon, and fish of all sorts. Gold they have not found." He carried some Indian men and women as slaves to Europe. Herrera says: "He ran along the whole coast as far as Florida—a great stretch of

[18]See Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 47-48 note.

land which up to that time had not been traversed by other Spanish ships, although Sebastian Cabot, John Verrezano, and others had sailed along it." Comez died in October, 1525."

Pamfilo de Narvaez, a Spanish cavalier, born at Valladolid, Spain, had a large person, imperious bearing, great strength, loud voice, and much wealth and distinction in Cuba, where he was lieutenant governor; but was very unfortunate or very stupid.[20] He received from Charles V. power to conquer "the country from the River de las Palmas (Santander) to the cape of Florida and left Spain, June 17, 1527, with five vessels and six hundred men and some priests, Alvaro Nunez Cabera de Vaca being treasurer and alguazil mayor, went to Cuba and started thence to a town called Trinidad, the fleet stopped on the way, sent two vessels to Trinidad port where they were wrecked in a prodigious earthquake, proceeded to Trinidad and thence to Xagua, got into a tempest about Havana and reached Florida somewhere near Tampa Bay in April, 1528, and at an Indian town, found some gold which the Indians said came from the far distant province of Apalache where there was plenty of it. They had a "pilot named Miruela," hired for his knowledge of the Florida coast which knowledge he did not display, went to a small town called Apalache where they were attacked by Indians, started south in search of corn, in a swamp were assailed by Indians, suffered from disease, resolved to go to Panuco in Mexico, and after travelling in the Florida about eight hundred miles built five boats and in them embarked for Mexico on September 22, 1528, with forces already greatly reduced. They were wrecked in storms, famished for want of water, starved for want of food and sickened for want of room and through exposure and, when attempting to land often attacked by Indians. Most of them perished, some by drowning and among these was the leader Narvaez. Alvara Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, an Andalusian, escaped and, with some of his companions, started by land for the City of Mexico. After wandering for eight years he and three associates reached that city. They had crossed Louisiana, Texas and the northern part

[19]4 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 9-11, 28-30; Purchase His Pilgrimage, 1613, 620.
[20]Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 23.

of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean at a place in Sonora; had been worshipped as gods by Indians; and had suffered much and seen much. De Vaca returned to Spain, was made governor of LaPlata, South America, in 1541; failed in his government and was sent as a prisoner to Spain and kept in prison for eight years; and lived to an advanced age at Seville. He is sometimes said to have discovered the Mississippi River at its mouth. Two works by him gave accounts of his wanderings, one in North America and the other in South America. There is an English translation of the former.[21] Any one can believe DeVaca's North American narrative who thinks proper to do so. Anyhow, it is probable that the pilot Miruelo of the Narvaez expedition was no other than the pilot Mirvelo of the DeAyllon expedition on which before Narvaez started, he had "lost his reason and his life." Originally "u" and "v" were the same letters both in power and in form and they were so employed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Garcilasso says that the Narvaez Mirvelo was the nephew of the other.[22]

Francisco Pizarro was born at Truxillo in Spain and was at Hispaniola "where he took part in the expedition to Uraba in Terra Firma, under Alonzo de Ojeda, a cavalier whose character and achievements find no parallel but in the pages of Cervantes." When Ojeda left San Sebastian on the Gulf of Darien he put Pizarro in control of his colony there. Having served under Balboa in founding the settlement at Darien, Pizarro was with him when Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean. Then Pizarro served under Pedrarias in Veragua. News of the achievements of his cousin Hernando Cortez in the conquest of Mexico and of the wealth obtained in that country aroused still further the exaggerated cupidity of Pizarro. There were rumors current of the opulence and splendor of a land on the shores of the Pacific south of Panama. Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, a soldier, and Hernando de Luque, an ecclesiastic, formed an association to seek out that country and accomplish its conquest. They fitted out an

[21]Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 21-46, 93-120; F. Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World, 1899, 12-13 note; 1 Southey's History of Brazil, 1810, 104-155, 630-632; 1 C. A. Washburn's History of Paraguay, 1871, 48-56; The Journey of Alvar Nunyez Cabeza de Vaca translated by Fanny Bandelier, 1905; 1 Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1894, 489-490; 2 Justin Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 243-244, 286-288, 499.

[22]Barnard Shipp's translation. 1881, pt. 1, b. 1, c. 3, p. 240.

expedition which brought little results except in the way of information. Other efforts followed. Obtaining in Spain authority to proceed with the enterprise, Pizarro started in January, 1531 from the Bay of Panama with a small force. Reaching Peru he found a country of wealth and civilization exceeding that even of Mexico and the greatest known among American aborigines. A civil war was in progress there between two claimants to the throne. Then began a series of perfidies and brutalities on the part of Pizarro and his Spaniards, emulating the crimes of Hernando Cortez and even exceeding them in turpitude which enriched almost incredibly the invaders and increased the vast amount of gold and silver which Spain was now, with canting hypocrisy extorting from the natives of the two Americas."

"Spain, by a very singular fatality, was the Peru and Mexico of the old world. The discovery of the rich western continent by the Phoenicians, and the oppression of the simple natives, who were compelled to labour in their own mines for the benefit of strangers, form an exact type of the more recent history of Spanish America. The Phoenicians were acquainted only with the sea-coast of Spain; Avarice, as well as ambition, carried the arms of Rome and Carthage into the heart of the country, and almost every part of the soil was found pregnant with copper, silver and gold. Mention is made of a mine near Carthagena which yielded every day twenty-five thousand drachms of silver, or about three hundred thousand pounds a year. Twenty thousand pound weight of gold was annually received from the provinces of Austria, Gallicia, and Lusitania."[24] Spain, having now repeated so much of her own history in the new world was resolved to complete there that story of her own early days. Her oppression because of mineral wealth, begun by the Phoenicians upon her borders, extended by the Carthaginians far into her interior, and completed by the Romans throughout her entire boundaries, had now been reproduced in the Americas in the two former periods and she was determined to reproduce it in the extended limits of the third. She had felt the weight of Mohammedan fanaticism in its rigor and she was exerting every resource

[23]W. H. Prescott's History of Peru. 1847.
[24]1 Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 1807, c. 6, pp. 258-259.

in the vindictive execution of a more truculent Christian fanaticism in atrocities against the Indians, sparing no quarter, until Spanish inhumanity had exceeded all inhumanities of history and continued to hold that unenviable preeminence in unprincipled and hypocritical brutalities until the latter half of the nineteenth century in North America. A Peru had been found in South America. She thought there must be a greater one in North America. She would spare no effort to find that too. Then she could revel in treasures and religious crimes and lead the world for God and Mammon.

Hernando de Soto was a noble Spanish cavalier, born at Xeres in Spain between 1496 and 1500. He is said to have been educated through the assistance of Pedro Arias de Avila, known as Pedrarias Davila or simply Pedrarias, Count of Puno en Rostro, whose son-in-law he became in after years, and whom he accompanied to Darien in 1514.[25] Balboa had just discovered the Pacific Ocean which he called the South Sea. Soon he too became a son-in-law of Pedrarias who, a little later, caused his execution for treason.[26] De Soto was already noted for courage, strength, good horsemanship, and manly character. He refused to obey an order of Pedrarias to attack an unoffending Indian settlement. The messenger who brought the order, an officer and bully, took offence and challenged De Soto but was vanquished. Under order of Pedrarias, Hernandez de Cordova took possession of Nicaragua and De Soto went with him. Pedrarias marched to Nicaragua, publicly charged Cordova with treason and had him decapitated without trial. He also ordered decapitation of De Soto who advanced then on horseback and denounced to Pedrarias the murder of Cordova. The crowd expressed sympathy for De Soto and the sentence against him was dropped. Pedrarias opposed the marriage of De Soto to Isabella Bobadilla, daughter of Pedrarias, and the marriage did not occur until after the father's death.

Some correspondence between the lovers conducted through an Italian, Micer Codro, was detected by Pedra-

[25]Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, c. 1, p. 4; R. B. C. Graham's Hernando de Soto, 1903, 1-3; 2 Bourne's Hernando de Soto, 1905; 2 Buckingham Smith's Life of DeSoto, 169.

[26]Smith's DeSoto, 2 Bourne's DeSoto, 1905, 169.

rias who procured the captain of a boat to murder Codro. Later when De Soto was on the boat this captain boasted of the murder and De Soto cut off his head. When Pizarro was engaged in the invasion of Peru he was joined by De Soto. A war was raging between the lawful claimant to the Inca throne, Huascar, and a usurper called Atahualpa or Atabalipa, the natural son of Huayna Capac. Francisco Pizarro, by lying and treachery, got possession of Atahualpa but promised to release him for a large ransom. De Soto joined in the promise. The ransom was paid. De Soto was sent away to suppress an alleged Peruvian force; and, while he was gone, Pizarro murdered Atahualpa by burning him alive. When De Soto returned he challenged Pizarro and any of Pizarro's friends to a duel. Pizarro pleaded the danger of the Spaniards and thereby placated De Soto. The latter's generalship achieved the conquest of Peru. His share of the spoils was immense. It exceeded one hundred and eighty thousand ducats. He returned to Spain, lived in luxury, married Isabella de Bobadilla, and spent much of his American stealings. He concluded to go back to America and hunt another Peru. Several projects presented themselves. But just then news arrived of the failure of Narvaez. He obtained permission to conquer Florida."[27] "He became a knight of the Order of Santiago. Being now in the vigour of life, he sought for a government beyond sea. His first desire was to obtain one over the country extending from Panama to San Miguel; though he deemed that the most sterile and unprofitable territory in the new world, yet he supposed the unknown region lying to the east of Quito—the country of Canela—might be made available; and if this concession could not be secured, then he desired to have the *Adelantamiento* of Nicaragua, with the privilege of sailing west towards the Spice Islands of the South Sea, and the right to one-tenth of whatever he should discover in that direction, at his own cost.

"About this time, the news of the utter loss of the armament which set out to conquer Florida having arrived, Soto obtained the grant of that country, from the River

[27]Gentlemen of Elvas, Hakluyt, Goldsmid's ed., 1889, v. 2, 545, 1 Bourne's DeSoto, 1905, 4; B. F. French's Louisiana, pt. 2, 1850, 113; 1 L. A. Wilmer's DeSoto, 1859; R. B. C. Graham's DeSoto, 1903; Buckingham Smith's DeSoto in 2 Bourne's DeSoto, 1905, 169-192; W. H. Prescott's Conquest of Peru; Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida and translation of Garcilasso, 1881.

Palmas eastwardly to the 'Island of Florida,' once ceded to Narvaez, with the Tierra-Neuva adjoining it on the ocean before conferred on Ayllon, having no specific limit to the northward, but geographically bounded by the Land of Estevan Gomez. Within four years from the time of landing in the country he was to receive two hundred leagues of shore to be selected by him from what he might conquer and colonize, where he should be Governor and Captain - General, with the dignity of Adelantado for life, and High Sheriff in perpetuity to his heirs. Within that territory he had the right to select twelve leagues square by the sea for his possession.***"The better to command and afford whatever might be necessary in the progress of this great undertaking, Soto was made governor of Cuba during the pleasure of the sovereign. In consequence, he subsequently took up stock - farms on the Island, whence to draw supplies, whether as invader or colonist.[28] De Soto was also given the "title of Marquis to a certain part of the territory he should conquer."[29] The Spanish craze to gather riches for their own sakes, subordinate always to the murder and robbery of "infidels," the spread of the Gospel of Christ, and the delights of invasion, was now at its height. Perus were thought to abound in America where countries could be invaded and people murdered "for the good of their souls," and reduced to slavery, glory acquired and gold and silver accumulated and priests put in dominion. Now an expedition to obtain these desirable things was to start under the conduct of a leader who had already been foremost in conquering Peru and amassing wealth and fame and honors and was withal a thorough Christian. Men flocked to his standard from Spain and Portugal, old comrades of the Peruvian conquest joined in the enterprise, priests enlisted in the ecclesiastical ranks, property was sold to obtain money for the expenses of the glorious crusade of invasion, slaughter and soul-saving, and Spain was the great country of the earth, ready for a grand orgy of invading, baptising, converting and killing, and stealing.

In Spain De Soto saw Alvaro Nunez Cabeza de Vaca who

[28]Buckingham Smith's DeSoto, 2 Bourne's DeSoto, 1905, 189-190.
[29]Gentlemen of Elvas, 1 Bourne's DeSoto, 1905, 5; B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana, Part 2, 1850, p. 114; Hakluyt, Goldsmid ed., 1889, v. 2, p. 545.

agreed to go with him but did not because they disagreed about an item of expense, these soul-saving marauders.

In April, 1538 De Soto with seven ships and six hundred men left San Lucar in Spain and, after a stop at Gomera, one of the Canary Islands, reached Cuba at Santa Iago at the end of May. From that place he sent his ships to Havana and himself went by land to the same place. At Havana the forces assembled in the following March. John Danusco was sent from that town, with a caravel, two brigantines and fifty men to find a haven in Florida and returned with two Indians captured on the Florida coast who reported, "that there was much gold in Florida."

On Sunday, May 18 or 12, as others say, 1539 the expedition set out from Havana with five ships, two caravels and two brigantines, more than three hundred horses, leaving Donna Isabella as governor and John de Rojas as lieutenant governor, of Cuba. They landed May 30, 1539 in Florida at what is now called Tampa Bay.[80]

DE SOTO IN FLORIDA

De Soto had landed at what was called the Bay of Honda on the western coast of the peninsula of Florida. Its latitude was 29½ degrees north. He called it Baya de Spirito Sancto. There they foraged and killed two Indians and, marching forward two days, came to an Indian town called Ucita, where they destroyed "a Church" and found a land filled with marshes, "encombred with great and hie trees." A detachment sent out to take Indians was charged by twenty natives and they "so distressed us that we were forced to retire to our campe, being, as they are exceeding readie with their weapons. It is a people so warlike and so nimble, that they care not a whit for any footeman. For if their enemies charge them, they runne away, and if they turne their backs, they are presently upon them. And the thing that they most flee, is the shot of an arrow. They neuer stand still, but are alwaies running and traversing from one place to another; by reason whereof neither crosse-

[80]2 Hakluyt, Goldsmid ed., Gentleman of Elvas, 1889, 545-555; 1 Bourne's DeSoto, 1905, 5-22; Garcilasso, Barnard Smith's translation, 1881, 243-257; R. B. C. Graham's DeSoto, 1903, 55-80; B. F. French's Louisiana, Pt. 2, Gentleman of Elvas. 1850, 114-122; Biedma, 97; 2 Bourne's DeSoto, 1905, Biedma, 3, Ranjel, 49-54.

bow nor arcubuse can aime at them: and before one crossebowman can make one shot, an Indian will discharge three or foure arrowes; and he seldome misseth what he shooteth at. An arrow, where it findeth no armour, pierceth as deeply as a crossebow. Their bowes are very long and their arrowes are made of certaine canes like reedes, very heavie, and so strong, that a sharpe cane passeth through a target. Some they arme in point with a sharp bone of a fish like a chisel, and in others they fasten certain stones like points of Diamants. For the most part when they light upon an armour, they breake in the place where they are bound together. Those of cane do split and pierce a coate of maile, and are more hurtful than the other." The detachment saw ten or eleven "Indians, among whom was a Christian, which was naked and scorched with the Sunne, and had his armes razed after the manner of the Indians, and differed nothing at all from them." This man was a Spaniard named John Ortiz, "borne in Siuil, of worshipful parentage. He was 12. yeeres in the hands of the Indians. He came into this Countrie with Pamphilo de Naruez." and was captured by Indians and about to be burned at the stake when he was reprieved at the intercession of a daughter of the chief and given "the charge of keeping the Temple," to prevent wolves from carrying off "the dead corpses out of the same." "One night the wolues gate from him the corpse of a little child, the sonne of a principal Indian; and going after them he threw a darte at one of the wolues and strooke him that carried away the corps, who feeling himself wounded, left it, and fell downe dead neere the place. and hee not noting what he had done, because it was night, went backe againe to the Temple: and the morning being come, and finding not the bodie of the child, he was very sad. Assoone as Ucita knew thereof, he resolued to put him to death; and sent by the tract, which he said the wolues went, and found the bodie of the child, and the wolfe dead a little beyond: whereat "Ucita was much contended with the Christian, and with the watch hee kept in the Temple, and from thence forward esteemed him much." Three years thereafter Ucita was driven from his town by an Indian chief called Mocoso. "These people being worshippers of the diuell are wont to offer vp vnto him the liues and blood of

their Indians, or of any other people they can come by: and they report, that when he will haue them doe that sacrifice vnto him, he speaketh with them, and telleth them that he is athirst, and willeth them to sacrifice vnto him."

Ucita concluded to sacrifice Ortiz; but the woman who had saved him before sent him to Mocoso, guiding him part of the way. Mocoso protected Ortiz nine years; and when De Soto came to Florida Mocoso sent Ortiz with an Indian escort to him. It was more than four days before Ortiz regained command of the Spanish language. While he was with the Indians some ships sailed by the shore. Mocoso came to visit De Soto and expressed his friendship in a speech. He was commended and rewarded for his treatment of Ortiz.[31] Garcilasso calls Ucita, both land and chief Harriga and says that chief was "irritated against the Spaniards because they had some time previous cut off his nose and caused the dogs to devour his mother."[32] A detachment sent to explore, learned from some Indians that at a place called Cale or Ocale, or Etocale, there was much gold and the people wore gold hats. Meanwhile they practised great outrages against the natives, burning Ucita, threw Indian men and Indian women to the dogs, and perpetrated other villanies. "The reader is to understand *aperrear* (to throw to the dogs), is to have the dogs eat him, or kill him, tearing the Indian in pieces, since the Conquistadores in the Indies have always used to carry Irish greyhounds and very bold, savage dogs." Leaving a garrison at the port, De Soto then "marched into the maine land." Passing Paracossi, Acela, Tocaste and "a Riuer with a great current, he reached Cale and found it deserted.[33] Acording to Garcilasso they marched two or three days to Mocoso, thence to the northeast to Urribaracuxi and, after nine days and four leagues, mostly through marsh lands, and some further marching, they came to the province of Acuera, twenty leagues north of Urribaracuxi and to Ocaly twenty leagues further.[34] Biedma says that from Baya Honda they marched in a west-

[31]Elvas, Hakluyt, Goldsmid ed., v. 2, 1889, 555-562; Biedma, 2 Bourne, 1905, 3-4; Ranjel, Id., 54-58; Elvas, 1 Boure, 1905, 22-34; French's Louisiana, Pt. 2, 1850, Biedma, 97-98, Elvas, 122-128; Garcelasso, Shipp's translation, 1881, 258-268.

[32]Shipp's translation, 1881, 257-263.

[33]Elvas; 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 562-564; 1 Bourne, 1905, 34-37; French's Louisiana, 1850, 128-129; Biedma; Ibid., 98; 2 Bourne, 1905, 4-5.

[34]Shipp's translation, 1881, 274-281.

erly direction and then northeast twelve leagues to Hurripacuxi and thence fifteen or twenty leagues to Etocale.[35]

At Cale they heard, "that within seuen dayes journie, there was a very great Prouince, and plentifull of Maiz. which was called Apalache." Leaving Cale, August 11, 1539 and passing Ytara, Potano, Vtinama, and another town and Cholupaha and, on August 17, Caliquen, "where he was informed of the Prouince of Apalache: They told him that there Pamphilo de Naruaez had bin there," near a "Riuer," and leaving Caliquen on September 10, De Soto, on September 15, came to Napetuca and leaving Napetuca on September 23, he passed Hapahuya, Vzachil, and Axille, and thence, crossing, "the deepe of the Riuer," to Vitachuco and Vzela, he came, on Tuesday, October 27, 1539, to Anaica Apalache, "where the Lord of all that Countrie and Prouince was resident," ten leagues from the sea. From the sea here he could communicate with Baya Honda and sent to that place a message that the port be abandoned and all come to Apalache, which was obeyed. Then he had built a port at the sea near Apalache at which the vessels from Baya Honda arrived on December 28, 1539. Meantime all the way which De Soto had travelled in Florida had been difficult in which he had traversed swamps, forded rivers, fought Indians, and suffered famine. He had suffered greatly, lost heavily and gained nothing. He was still near the western or southwestern coast of Florida, not far north of the place where he had landed and in proximity to a part of that coast at which he might as well have made his landing point by only a few days more of sailing.[36] On this march was a remarkable man named Moron. "This last had a scent so fine that he scented better than a hunting dog. For, many times in the island of Cuba, going with his companions to hunt the Indians who had revolted, and who had taken to flight, he traced them in the bushes, in the hollows of trees, and in the caverns where they had concealed themselves. He scented, also, fire for more than a league; for often, without having seen either light or smoke, he said to those who

[35]French's Louisiana, Part 2, 1850, 98; 2 Bourne, 1905, 4-5.
[36]Elvas, 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 564-572; 1 Bourne, 1905, 34-49; French's Louisiana, Part 2, 1850, 128-135; Biedma, Ibid., 98-99; 2 Bourne, 1905, 5-8; Garcilasso, Shipp's translation, 1881, 281-334.

accompanied him, that there was a fire close by, and they found it at half a league or league from there."[87]

From Apalache De Soto sent a party under Francisco Maldonado, "to discouer to the Westward, and to seeke a Port." Maldonado reported that he had found a good port sixty leagues west from Apalache in a province called Ochus. Then he sent Maldonado to Havana for supplies with instructions, on the latter's return, to await De Soto at this Port of Ochus the following summer, or failing to find him then, to return to that port on the next summer. "Of those Indians which were taken in Napetuca, the treasurer John Gaytan had a young man, which said, that he was not of that countrie, but of another farre off toward the Sunrising, and that it was long since he had trauelled to see countries; and that his countrie was called Yupaha, and that a woman did govern it; and that the towne where she was resident was of a wonderfull bignesse and that many lords round about were tributaries to her; and some gaue her clothes, and others gold in abundance; and hee told, how it was taken out of the mines, and was moulten and refined, as if hee had seene it done, or the diuel had taught it him. So that all those who knew anything concerning the same, said that it was impossible to giue so good a relation, without hauing seene it; And all of them, as if they had seen it, by the signes that he gaue, beleeued all that hee said to be true."

On Wednesday, March 3, 1540, "the Gouernor departed from Anaica Apalache to seeke Yupaha." After four days they crossed "a great Riuer," and, in a day and a half, came to the town of Capachiqui, where they were attacked by Indians at a lake. "The Gouernor departed from Capachiqui. and passed through a desert," and came, on Wednesday, March 21, to the town of Toalli, where the houses were built for a colder climate. "In all the cold countrie the Indians haue euery one a house for the winter daubed with clay within and without, and the doore is very little; they shut it night, and make a fire within; so that they are in it as warme as in a stoue; and so it continueth all night that they need not clothes: and besides these they haue others for summer; and their kitchens neere them, where they make

[87]Garcilasso, Shipp's translation, 1881, 312, 323.

fire and bake their bread: and they haue barbacoas wherein they keepe their Maiz; which is an house set vp in the aire vpon foure stakes, boarded about like a chamber, and the floore of it is of cane bundles. The difference which Lords or principall mens houses haue from the rest, besides they be greater, is, that they haue great galleries in their fronts, and vnder them seats made of canes in manner of benches, and around about them they haue many lofts, wherein they lay vp that which the Indians do giue them for tribute, which is Maiz, Deeres skins, and mantles of the Countrie, which are like blankets: they make them of the inner rinde of the barke of trees, and some of a kind of grasse like vnto nettles, which being beaten, is like vnto flaxe. The women couer themselues with these mantles; they put one about them from the wast downeward; and another ouer their shoulder, with their right arme out, like vnto the Egyptians. The men wear but one mantle vpon their shoulders after the same manner," with deer skin about the loins.

Leaving Toalli, March 24, 1540, De Soto, next day, crossed a small river near a town called Achese; and, passing up a river, came, on April 4, to the town of Altamaca and, on the tenth, to Ocute where the cacique gave him "many conies, and partridges, bread of Maiz, two hens, and many dogs," all which he and his men eat. Further he came to Cofaqui and then Patosa. "This countrie, from the first peaceable Cacique, vnto the Prouince of Patosa, which were fiftie leagues, is a fat countrie, beautifull, and very fruitfull, and very well watered, and full of good Riuers. And from thence to the Port de Spirito Santo, where wee first arriued in the land of Florida, (which may bee 350 leagues little more or lesse) is a barren land, and the most of it groues of wild Pine-trees, low and full of lakes, and in some places very hie and thick groues."

From Patosa De Soto followed his Indian guide toward the east, although the cacique claimed to know of no habitation in that direction but did know of the rich province of Coca to the northwest. After leaving Patosa De Soto passed two rivers by wading, each, "two crossebowshot over: the water came up to the stirrops, and had so great a current that it was needfull for the horsemen to stand one before another that the footemen might passe aboue them

leaning vnto them. He came to another Riuer of a greater current and largenes, which was passed with more trouble, because the horses did swim at the coming out about a lances length." At Patosa the Indian guide, "began to fome at the mouth, and tumble on the ground, as one possessed with the diuell: They said a Gospell ouer him; and the fit left him. And he said, that foure daies iournie from thence toward the Sunnerising, was the Prouince that he spake of." When they had gone nine days, seven or eight leagues a day, the guide said, "that hee knew not where he was. It saued him that he was not cast to the dogges, that there was neuer another whom Ion Ortiz did vnderstand." The path gave out, parties searched for leagues in different directions for habitations in vain. "The Gouernor brought with him into Florida thirteene sowes, and had by this time three hundred swine: He commanded euery man should haue a halfe a pound of hogs flesh euery day." At length a small town was found called Aymay where were found some maiz and maiz flour. The Indians claimed to know of no other town. "The Gouernor commanded one of them to be burned; and presently another confessed, that two daies iournie from thence, there was a Prouince that was called Cutifa Chiqui." De Soto learned, "that the Ladie of that Countrie had notice alreadie of the Christians, and staied for them in a towne of hers. He sent her a friendly message." "The Gouernor came vnto the towne: and presently there came foure canoes to him; in one of them came a sister of the Ladie," who invited him across the river and returned. "Within a little while the Ladie came out of the towne in a Chaire, whereon certaine of the principall Indians brought her to the Riuer. She entered into a barge, which had the sterne tilted ouer, and on the floore her mat readie laid with two cushions vpon it, one vpon another, where she sate her downe; and with her came her principall Indians in other barges, which did waite vpon her. She went to the place where the Gouernor was," gave him In-

dian clothes of mantles and skins and, taking from her neck, "a great cordon of perles," threw it over his neck and had her canoes carry the Spaniards across the river where he was lodged and sent a "present of many hens."[38] Biedma,[39] differs in several respects from the Elvas account. He says that from Apalache they came to Yustaga, and from that place sent for the forces left at Baya Honda, from which they had now travelled one hundred and ten leagues. They went nine leagues to the sea where Pamphilo de Narvaez had built his boats and found there bones of horses. From Yustaga they marched northward and came to a great river after five days at Acapachiqui, crossed two rivers and reached Otoa, spent five or six days in traversing Chisi, three days in reaching the province of Altapaha, at which was, "a river that had a course not southwardly, like the rest we had passed, but eastward to the sea, where the Licentiate, Lucas de Ayllon had come."[39] Coming to Ocuti and Cafaqui, and, after thirteen days through a wilderness, came to a small town and from that in two days to Cofitachique, "seated on the banks of a river, which we believed to be the Santa Elena, where the Licentiate Ayllon had been." There "the Lady of this town sent to us her niece, borne in a litter," with a message of welcome. "She likewise sent the Governor a necklace of five or six strings of pearls." "We were furnished with canoes in which to pass over the river, and the Lady gave us one-half of the town." He noted that at Acapachiqui the residences began to be "in the earth like caves." Garcilasso says,[40] that from Apalache they went north to Altapaha whence they marched ten days up along the river, and, departing from Altapaha, came to Achalaque through which they passed in five days. "When the general left Achalaque, he gave to the cacique, among other things, two hogs. He had made a similar present to the chief of Altapaha and to some others with whom he had made alliance; for he had brought into Florida more than one hundred of these animals." On the fourth day after leaving Achalaque, they arrived at the first town of Cofa and, after six days, at Cofaqui of which Patosa was lieutenant-gen-

[38]Elvas, 2 Hakluyt in Goldsmid ed., 1889, 571-580; French's Louisiana, Part 2, 1850, 136-144; 1 Bourne, 1905, 49-65, where the "hens" are called "turkeys."
[39]2 French's Louisiana, 1850, 99-101; 2 Bourne, 1905, 7-13.
[40]Shipp's translation, 1881. 335-357.

eral, and, through a wilderness, to the river at Cofaciqui, whose princess came over and welcomed them and "unstrung, one after another, large pearls from a chain, which made three tours around the neck, and descended to her waist," and gave them to De Soto, who gave her a ruby ring from his finger. On the next day the army crossed, in boats and rafts, the river, "which the sailors believed to be the same as that which, upon the coast, is called Saint Helena."

Rodrigo Ranjel,[42] says that Maldonado left Apalache for Havana on February 26, 1540, and the army took its departure in search of Capachequi on Wednesday, March 3, 1540. Then De Soto came to the River Guacuca and, on Friday, to the River Capachequi and the next Thursday to the town of that name. From that town he reached the White Spring and then the River Toa and later the town of Toa and, on March 29th, left Ichisi where they saw women in white mantels woven from the inner bark of mulberry trees and "they wear one from the girdle down and another fastened on one side with the end over the shoulders like those Bohemians or gypsies, who wander sometimes through Spain." On Wednesday, March 31, the troops came to Great River and, next day to a considerable stream, whence they visited Chief Camumo, an enemy to Colfitachequi. April 8, they left and, Friday, came to Ocute. Then, on April 12, to Cofaqui, who had a full beard, where their guide "made believe that he was possessed of the devil," having lost his way. There Tatofa lived. On Saturday, April 17, they crossed a "large river, divided into two branches," with strong current where, "the water came up to the stirrups and in places to the saddle pads," and many pigs were drowned. On the next Monday they passed another very large river and Wednesday, "another very large river and hard to cross which was divided into two streams. Then detachments were dispatched to search for roads or villages. At last they found a village where was some, "pinol prepared, which is parched corn." "And there was no end of mulberries, because there were many trees and it was their season; and this was a great help. And likewise there were found in the plains some berries such as in Italy grow on vines close to the ground and are like madronos,"

[42] Bourne's DeSoto, 1905, 81-99.

El Adelantado Hernando de Soto,

DISCOVERER OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, WHO PASSED THROUGH WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

(strawberries), "very savoury, palatable, and fragrant, and they also grow abundantly in Galicia. In the Kingdom of Naples this fruit is called *fraoles* and it is a finer delicate fruit and highly thought of. And besides those, they found there along the trails countless roses growing wild like those in Spain; and although they have not so many leaves since they are in the woods they are none the less fragrant and finer and sweeter." "The next day Captain Alonso Romo came who likewise had been out reconnoitering, and he brought four or five Indians, and not one would show any knowledge of his lord's village or discover it, although they burnt one of them alive before the others, and all suffered that martyrdom for not revealing it." One detachment had left behind two companions and De Soto made its captain go back, without eating or resting and under penalty of death if the lost men were not brought. "And that was a better order and a better deed and judgment than burning alive the Indian that Alonso Romo brought for not consenting to reveal his lord; for to such a one as him the Romans set up a memorable statue in the Forum. ***But later on the account was squared." Next day after De Soto set out from that place he came to the crossing of a large deep river opposite Cofitachequi and Indians and their "woman chief, lady of that land whom the Indians of rank bore on their shoulders with much respect, in a litter covered with delicate white linen. And she crossed in the canoes and spoke to the Governor quite gracefully and at her ease. She was a young girl of fine bearing; and she took off a string of pearls which she wore on her neck, and put it on the Governor as a necklace." That day, Saturday, and the following Monday and Tuesday, the army crossed.

The Spaniards were now at Cutifa-Chiqui or Cofitachequi. "This Countrie was verie pleasant, fat, and hath goodly meadows by the Riuers. Their woods are thin, and ful of Walnut trees and Mulberrie trees. They said the sea was two daies iourney from thence. Within a league and a halfe a league about this towne, was great townes dispeopled, and ouergrowne with grasse; and which shewed that they had been long without inhabitants. The Indians said that two yeere before there was a plague in that countrie, and that they remoued to other townes. There was in their

storehouses great quantitie of clothes, mantles of yarne of the barkes of trees, and others made of feathers, white, greene, red, and yellow, very fine after their vse, and profitable for winter. There were also many Deeres skinnes, with many compartiments traced in them, and some of them made into hose, stockings and shoes. And the Ladie perceiuing, that the Christians esteemed the perles, aduised the Gouernor to send to search certain graues that were in the towne, and that hee should find many; and that if hee would send to the dispeopled townes, hee might load all his horses. They sought the graues of the towne, and there found fourteene rooues of perles, and little babies and birdes made of them. The people were browne, well made, and well proportioned, and more ciuill than any others that were seene in all the countrie of Florida. and all of them well shod and clothed." The young Indian who had been their guide and all the time chained now had his chains removed, was baptized and named Pedro (Peter). "In this towne was found a dagger, and beades, that had belonged to Christians. The Indians reported that Christians had been in the hauen, which was two daies iourney from this towne, many yeeres agoe. He that came thither was the Gouernour, the Licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, which went to conquer this countrie, and at his comming to the Port hee died; and there was a diuision, quarrels and slaughters betweene some principall men which went with him, for the principall gouernment: And without knowing anything of the countrie they returned home to Hispaniola." De Sota "inquired of the Indians, whether they had notice of any great Lord farther into the land. They told him, that twelve daies iournie from thence, there was a Prouince called Chiaha, subiect to the Lord of Coca. Presently the Gouvernour determined to seeke that land," although all his company wanted to settle at Cutifa-Chiqui.[48] Biedma's account of Colfitachique,[49] says that "the lady gave us one-half of the town; but after staying three or four days, she suddenly went off in to the woods. The Governor caused her to be sought, and not finding her, he opened a mosque, in which

[48]Elvas, 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 580-582; 1 Bourne, 1905, 63-69; French's Louisiana, Part 2, 1850, 142-145.
[49]2 Bourne, 1905, 13-14; 2 French's Louisiana, 1850, 100-101.

were interred the bodies of the chief personages of that country. We took from it a quantity of Pearls, of the weight of as many as six arrobas and a half or seven, though they were injured from lying in the earth, and in the adipose substance of the dead. We found buried two wood axes, of Castillian make, a rosary of jet beads, and some false pearls, such as are taken from this country to traffic with the Indians, all which we supposed they got in exchange, made with those who followed the Licentiate Ayllon. From the information given by the Indians, the sea should be about thirty leagues distant. We knew that the people who came with Ayllon hardly entered the country at all; that they remained continually on the coast, until his sickness and death. In strife for command, they then commenced to kill each other, while others of them died of hunger; for one, whose lot it was to have been among them, told us that of six hundred men who landed, only fifty-seven escaped—a loss caused to a great extent, by the wreck of a big ship they had brought, laden with stores." Garcilasso,[4] tells of "the mother of the lady of the country," who lived twelve leagues away and blamed her daughter's hospitality and avoided the Spaniards and could not be found and when a young Indian was sent for a guide to her he killed himself on the way in order to keep from betraying her. This historian describes, "the temple" where the dead were embalmed and in boxes with cane baskets filled with clothing and pearls beside the boxes, there being, "more than a thousand measures of pearls," of which the Spaniards took one-tenth part. He also tells of a temple at Talomeco, another town of the vicinity, where the chief's house and temple were on a mound and the temple, one hundred by forty steps in area, was high and covered with split canes woven into mats, ornamented with shells and having the inside and outside decorated with festoons of pearls reaching from ceiling to floor. The temple front entrance was guarded with twelve wooden statues of gradually diminishing height from eight feet down in two rows, the first having drawn clubs and armed with copper, the second maces, the third oars, the fourth copper axes edged with flint, the fifth drawn bows with arrows pointed with stag's horne or

[4]Shipp's translation, 1881, 357-366.

stone, the sixth with long pikes having copper at both ends held in different postures of menace. Statues, one of men and the other of women, in two rows, one above the other, were ranged around beneath the temple's cornices and benches holding coffins were at the bases of the walls. In the middle of the temple were three rows of chests filled with pearls and resting on benches in the form of pyramids, the quantity of pearls estimated to constitute a load of nine hundred men and three hundred horses. There were also ornaments of feathers and dressed skins, and about the temple eight halls filled with arms, pikes ornamented with copper, pearls, and skins, maces, hammers, oars, and bows and arrows, and bucklers of wood and cow-skins and woven cane. At Cofaciqui, on request, the princess sent to the white men "copper of a very golden color, with some white slabs like silver, an ell long and wide, from three to four inches thick and yet very light," which fell to powder when handled, and many thought that there might be gold in the copper but had no means of assaying it. The Indians said that, by fishing, they could procure more pearls. Ranjel,[12] relates of Cofaciqui that in the mosque or temple the breasts, belly, necks and legs, and arms and legs of the corpses were filled with pearls, and he found a green substance which he mistook for emerald but found to be glass. They found there glass beads, rosaries with crosses, Biscayan axes of iron, "from which they recognized that they were in the government or territory where the lawyer Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon came to his ruin. They took away from there some two hundred pounds of pearls.***Some things were done there as in Spain, which the Indians must have been taught by the followers of the lawyer Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon; since they make hose and moccasins and leggins with ties of white leather, although the leggins are black, and with fringes or edging of coloured leather as they would have done in Spain." There were "breastplates like corselets and head-pieces made of rawhide, the hair stripped off, and also very good shields." He more briefly describes the chief's house at Talimeco, and says of the stream, "In this river Alaminos, a native of Cuba, (although a Spaniard), was said to have found a trace of gold."

[12] Bourne, 1905, 100-102.

On May 3, 1540 De Soto left Cutifa-Chiqui and, because the Indians had revolted and "the Ladie" wished to escape without giving him guides or Indians to carry burdens, "he carried her on foot with his bondwomen to looke vnto her." In all the towns through which he passed she had Indians to come and carry the burdens from one town to another, she being obeyed through one hundred leagues of country, though Peter said that it was not, "the Ladie," but her niece, "which came to that towne to execute certaine principal men by commandement of the Ladie, which had withheld her tribute." "In seuen daies space the Gouernour came to a Prouince called Chalaque, the poorest Country of Mais that was seen in Florida," where the Indians lived on roots, herbs and wild beasts and were lean and were gentle and went naked. "There was a Lord, which for a great present, brought the Governour two Deeres skins: And there were in that Countrie many wild hennes." "From this Prouince to another, which is called Xualla, he spent fiue daies," and found little Maiz and remained two days. "From Ocute to Cutifa-Chiqui, may be some hundred and thirtie leagues, whereof 80. are wildernesse. From Cutifa-Chiqui to Xualla, two hundred and fiftie, and it is an hillie Countrie. The Gouernour departed from Xualla toward Gauxule: he passed very rough and hie hilles. In that Iournie, the Lady of Cutifa-Chiqui, going out of the way with the bondwomen, hid in the woods and could not be found, carrying with her "a little chest made of canes in manner of a coffer, which they call Petaca, full of vnbored perles," said to be of great value and borne by an Indian woman who waited on her. She went to Xualla "with three slaues which fled from the Campe, and one horseman which remained behind, who falling sicke of an ague went out of the way and was lost. This man, whose name was Alimamos, dealt with the slaues to change their euill purpose, and returne with him to the Christians: which two of them did; and Alimamos and they ouertooke the Gouernour 50. leagues from thence in a Prouince called Chiaha; and reported how the Ladie remained in Xualla with a slaue of Andrew de Vasconcellos, which would not come backe with them, and that of a certaintie they lived as man and wife together, and meant to goe both to Cutifa-Chiqui. Within fiue daies the Gouernour

came to Gauxule." There the Indians gave him "300. dogges," which the white men eat, an Indian not eating dogs. Sending to the cacique of Chiaha to collect maiz for a few days stay in that town, they left Guaxule and, in two days, came to Canasagua, meeting on the way 20. Indians with baskets of mulberries, which they had found good from Cutifa-Chiqui, and "nuts and plummes," all growing without cultivation. After five more days through a desert, two leagues before coming to Chiaha they met 15. Indians sent to them from Chiaha with maiz and assurance of plenty more at that town. They reached Chiaha on June 5, 1540 and were welcomed by the cacique. There they found kept in gourds butter made of bears' fat "and a pot full of honie of bees which neither before or afterward was seene in all the countrie." The towne was on an island of a broad but shallow river, and they staid there thirty days and grossly insulted the natives and drove them from their towns.

There came there a cacique of a province called Coste who said "that toward the North, there was a Prouince named Chisca; and that there was a melting of copper, and of another metall of the same colour, saue that it was finer, and of a farre more perfect colour, and farre better to the sight; and that they vsed it not so much, because it was softer. And the self same thing was told the Gouernour in Cutifa-Chiqui; where we saw some little hatchets of copper, which were said to haue a mixture of gold. But in that part the Countrie was not well peopled, and they said there were mountaines which the horses could not passe; and for that cause the Gouernour would not goe from Cutifa-Chiqui directly thither. And hee made account that trauelling through a peopled Countrie, when his men and horses should be in better plight, and hee were better certified of the truth of the thing he would returne toward it, by mountaines, and a better inhabited Countrie, whereby he might haue better passage. He sent two Christians from Chiaha with certain Indians which knew the Countrie of Chisca, and the language thereof to view it, and to make report of that which they should find; where he told them that he

would tarrie for them.'" Biedma,[2] says that from Cofitachique they took their departure, because supplies were not sufficient there, and marched north for eight days through a poor country to Xuala where were a few houses and a broken country. "Among these ridges we discovered the source of the great river whence we had taken our departure, believed to be the Espirito Santo. We went on to a town called Gausuli where the inhabitants gave us a number of dogs and some maize, of which they had but little. From there we marched four days, and arrived at a town called Chiha, which is very plentiful in food. It is secluded on an island of this river of Espirito Santo, which, all the way from the place of its rise, forms very large islands. In this province where we began to find the towns set about with fence, the Indians get a large quantity of oil from walnuts. We were detained twenty-six or twenty-seven days to refresh the horses which arrived greatly fatigued, having worked hard and eaten little.

"We left, following along the banks of the river, and came to another province, called Costehe, the towns of which are likewise on islands in the river." Garcilasso,[4] is, as usual, quite diffuse in his account. He says that after De Soto's army left Cofaciqui, they marched in sections which came in from eight to ten days to Chovala, one of them having mutinied and encountered "a storm accompanied with wind, thunder, and hail, so destructive that, had they not met with some large trees, they would have all perished." They came to the small village of Chalaques. "At three days journey thence they rejoined the general who had waited for them for two days in a valley of the province of Chovala, distant from the capital about five leagues by the route which they had taken, and which they found quite pleasant, for they marched almost always through a country level and intersected, every three or four leagues, by small streams which flowed pleasantly through the country. They also met with some mountains with very gentle slopes, covered with herbs very suitable for cattle, and saw during their journey very good lands. "However,

[2]Elvas, 2 Goldsmid's Haykuyt, 1889, 582-587; 1 Bourne, 1905, 69-77; French's Louisiana, Part 2, 1850, 145-150.
[3]2 French's Louisiana, 1850, 101; 2 Bourne, 1905, 14-15.
[4]Shipp's translation, 1881, 366-371.

from Apalache to Chovala the route was about fifty-seven days' journey, and almost always toward the north or northeast. What is something remarkable, the Spaniards found in the villages which were subject to the lady of Cofaciqui many slaves, Indians of other countries, that those who went hunting and fishing had made prisoners. These slaves served to cultivate the lands, and had been very badly treated to prevent them from escaping. Some had the tendons of their insteps cut, and others of their heels."

"The Spaniards sojourned fifteen days in the capital of Chovala, situated between a town and a very rapid little river. They were very well received there, because the province was subject to the lady of Cofachiqui. Afterwards they decamped, and marched the first day through cultivated lands, and five others over uninhabited mountains which were twenty leagues across. They were full of oak and mulberry trees, good pastures and small streams, which flowed among valleys very cool and agreeable." The lady, through the villages on the road, conducted the Spaniards as far as Chovala and gave them provisions and "Indians to serve them during the twenty leagues of mountains which they had to cross before reaching Guachoula. *** She ordered the four Indian commanders that, as soon as they should arrive at the country of Guachola (which borders on her provinces), they should march in advance; and that, in the quality of ambassadors, they should go and solicit the cacique to favorably receive the Spaniards in his kingdom; and that, in case of refusal, they should declare war against him, and threaten to put fire and sword to everything in his country.***The day that the Spaniards left Chovala they missed three slaves, of whom two were negroes and the other a Moor. The love of women rather than any bad treatment had caused them to flee and live among the Indians, who were so delighted to have them, that they could not recover them. ***Two days after this flight, when the troops were marching through the wilderness, Juan Terron, one of the stoutest soldiers of the army, toward noon, drew from his saddle bags about six pounds of pearls, and pressed a cavalier, one of his friends, to take them. The cavalier thanked him and told him that he ought to keep them, or rather, since the report was current that the general would send to Havanna,

send them there to buy them horses, and go no longer afoot. Terron, offended at this answer, replied that, 'these pearls then shall not go any farther,' and thereupon he scattered them here and there upon the grass and through the bushes. They were surprised at this folly, for the pearls were as large as hazel-nuts, and of very fine water, and because they were not pierced they were worth more than six thousand ducats. They collected about thirty of these pearls, which were so beautiful that it made them regret the loss of the others and say, in raillery these words which passed into a proverb with them, 'These are not pearls for Juan Terron.' Terron would never disclose where he had found so many large pearls."

After passing through the wilderness, the Spaniards arrived at the capital of Guachoula, "situated among many streams which pass on both sides of the town and come from the mountains which are round about," and were hospitably received in a town of three hundred houses where the chief's "lodge was upon a mound, with a terrace around it where six men could promenade abreast;" and remained there four days. Then De Soto "took the route to the province of Iciaha, and by making every day five leagues he arrived the sixth at the capital which bears the name of the cacique and the country. To go there he descended along the many streams which pass by Guachoula, and which unite at some distance from there and make a river so powerful, that, in the province of Iciaha, distant about thirty leagues from the other, it is larger than the Gaudalquiver, which passes by Seville. The capital of Iciaha is at the point of an island more than five leagues." The cacique told De Soto, "that at thirty leagues from the capital, there were mines of the yellow metal of which he inquired, and that, if he wished to send people there, he would have them safely conducted there and back. Villabos and Silvera offered to make the journey. Soto consented to it, and they left immediately, on foot, with Indian guides." The cacique gave De Soto, "a string of pearls of about two fathoms," but, although the pearls were as large as filberts, and all alike, their value was decreased by their being pierced. This chief also said that "in the temple of the town of Iciaha, where his ancestors were buried, there was a great

quantity of them, and that they might help themselves." At the request of De Soto to know how pearls were extracted from the shells, the cacique sent four boats to fish all night for pearls and, by burning wood, made a great bed of live coals on which, in the morning, the shells obtained were put and when they opened the pearls, which the heat had deprived of part of their lustre, were extracted. A soldier brought a pearl which had caught in his teeth in eating a mussel. This pearl was thought to be worth four hundred ducats.

"While these things were passing, those who had gone to explore, returned at the end of ten days, and reported that the mines were of a very highly colored copper; and that, likely if they had searched with care, they might have met with gold and silver."

The account of Ranjel of the journey from Cofitachequi to Chiaha,[5] is not quite so full. He says that, after leaving Cofitachequi, they came in two days, "to the territory of Chalaque; but they were not able to come upon the village of the chief, nor was there an Indian that would reveal it." On Monday, May 17, 1540, they left Chalaque, "and spent the night at a mountain; and on Tuesday they came to Guaquili, and Indians came forth in peace and gave them corn, although little, and many fowls roasted on a barbacoa, and a few little dogs* which were good eating. These are dogs of a small size that do not bark; and they breed them in their homes for food. Likewise they gave them tamemes, which are Indians to carry their burdens. On Wednesday, the next day, they came to a region full of reeds, and on Thursday to a small plain." "The next day, Friday, they were at Xuala, which is a village in a plain between two rivers, and the chief was so prosperous that he gave the Christians whatever they asked—tamemes,*** corn, dogs, *petacas,* and as much as he had. *Petacas* are baskets covered with leather and likewise ready to be so covered with their lids, for carrying clothes or whatever they want to.** And on Saturday Baltazar de Gallegos came there with many sick and lame who must needs be restored whole,

[5]2 Bourne, 1905, 102-108.
*Raccoons or opossums? F. A. S.
***Burdeners, F. A. S.
**On Indian baskets see Adair's American Indians, 1775, 424; 1930 ed., 456; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 307. F. A. S.

particularly in view of the mountain ranges before them. In that Xuala region it seemed that there were more indications that there were gold mines than in all the country they had traversed and viewed in that northern region. Tuesday, May 25, they left Xuala, and on that day went over a very high range and at nightfall they encamped at a little mountain; and the next day, Wednesday, in a plain where they suffered from severe cold, although it was the 26th of May. There they crossed the river, wading up to their shins, by which later they were to depart in the brigantines they had made. This, when it reaches the sea, the chart indicates to be the Rio de Spiritu Santo, (River of the Holy Spirit), which, according to the maps of the geographer Alonso de Chaves, empties into a great bay; and the mouth of the river, where the water is salt, is in thirty-one degrees north of the equator. Returning to my narrative, from this place where, as was said, they waded across the river, the woman chief of Cofitachequi, whom they carried with them in return for the good treatment which they had received from her, escaped." Men of the army escaped between that place and Xalaque. "The next day they passed the night in an oak grove, and the day following along a large stream, which they crossed many times. The next day messengers of peace appeared and they arrived early at Guasuli, and they gave them many tamemes, many little dogs, and corn."

"Monday, which was the last day of May, the governor left Guasuli and came with his army to an oak wood along the river; and the next day they crossed by Canasoga, and at night they slept in the open country. Wednesday they slept near a swamp, and that day they eat an enormous amount of mulberries. The next day, Thursday, they went along a large stream near the river which they had crossed in the plain where the woman chief went off. It was now very large. The next day, Friday, they came to a pine wood on the stream, where appeared peaceful Indians from Chiaha and brought corn. The next day, Saturday, in the morning the Spaniards crossed one arm of the river, which was very broad, and went into Chiaha, which is on an island in the same river. It was Saturday, the 5th of June, that they entered Chiaha, and since all the way from Xuala had

been mountainous and the horses were tired and thin," they remained there twenty-three days, treated by the Indians with kindness and given corn and corn-cakes, "and no end of oil from walnuts and acorns," not always beneficial to health, until De Soto insulted and frightened the Indians and they ran away but were persuaded to return. "In the land of this Chiaha was where the Spaniards first found fenced villages. Chiaha gave them five hundred carriers, and they consented to leave off collars and chains."

From Chiaha De Sota went to Coste where he was kindly received, but the misconduct of some of his men causing an uprising among the Indians, it was allayed by De Soto's personal treachery. When three days had passed, "those which were sent to Chisca returned, and made report, that the Indians had carried them through a countrie so poor of maiz, and so rough, and over so hie mountaines, that it was impossible for the army to trauell that way; and that seeing the way grew very long, and that they lingered much, they consulted to returne from a little poore towne, where they saw nothing that was of any profit, and brought an oxe hide, which the Indians gaue them, as thinne as a calues skinne, and the haire like a soft wool, between the course and fine wool of sheepe."

Leaving Coste on July 9, they came to Tali and thence, on July 20, to Coca, a fruitful country where grow many plum trees, "as well of such as grow in Spaine, as of the countrie," where De Soto behaved, without excuse, with great brutality to the Indians, and, after twenty-five days, he marched on to Tallimuchase and then to "Ytua," and then, to Velibahali," a walled or palisaded town, and thence to Toasi and thence to Tallise, and thence to Casiste and thence to Tascaluca, thence to Piache.

"From the Port de Spirito Santo to Apalache, which is about an hundred leagues, the Gouernour went from East to West: And from Apalache to Cufita-chiqui, which are 430. leagues, from the Southwest to the Northeast: And from Cufita-chiqui to Xualla, which are about two hundred and fiftie leagues, from the South to the North: And from Xualla to Tascaluca, which are two hundred and fiftie leagues more, an hundred and ninetie of them he trauelled from

East to West, to wit, to the Prouince of Coca, and the other 60. from Coca to Tascaluca from the North to the South."

On Monday, October 18, 1540, De Soto reached Mauilla, where his reputation had gone before him and a large body of Indians attacked him and he sustained heavy losses in property destroyed, and Spaniards slain and wounded and horses killed. There he learned that Francisco Maldonado, whom he had sent to Cuba, awaited him at the Port of Ochuse, six days' journey away. He decided, however, to still persevere in his course of invasion and robbery. Leaving Mauilla, he came to a province called Pafallaya at a town named Taliepataua, thence to Cabusto where he fought Indians, thence to Chicaca, where Indians, to his great injury, burned the town in which he was encamped. Thence he went to Quizquiz, thence to another town, "halfe a league from Rio Grande, where they found plenty of Maiz: And he went to see the Riuer, and found that neere vnto it was great stores of timber to make barges." There he encamped. "The Riuer was almost halfe a league broad. If a man stood still on the other side it could not be discerned, whether he were a man or no. The Riuer was of great depth, and of a strong current: the water was alwais muddie: There came down the Riuer continually many trees and timber, which the force of the water and streame brought downe." They made barges and, after a conflict with Indians in canoes, crossed the stream. Marching to Aquixo, he went forward, "to seeke a Prouince, called Pacaha: Which hee was informed to bee neere vnto Chisca, where the Indians told him there was gold." Then he came to Casqui where were trees bearing red plums and gray ones which were better, then to Pacaha and on to place after place to the west of the Mississippi River and finding no Peru but enduring hardships and wronging Indians, De Sota became sick and appointed Luys de Moscoso de Alvarado to be captain general in his stead. "The next day, being the 21. of May, 1542, departed out of this life, the valorous, virtuous, and valiant Captaine, Don Fernando De Soto, Gouvernour of Cuba, and Adelantado of Florida: Whom fortune aduanced, as it vseth to doe others, that hee might haue the higher fal." He was buried; but, in order to deceive the Indians as to his

death, he was exhumed and his body weighted with sand and thrown from a canoe, "into the middest of the Riuer."

The remainder of the army, after many wanderings, sufferings, and hardships, with constantly decreasing numbers, at last built vessels and passed in them down the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico and across to, "the Riuer of Panuco in Nueua Espanna, Mexico."[6] See also Biedma, 2 Bourne 1905, 15-40; 2 French's Louisiana, 1850, 101-109; where he says that from Xuala, "We then ascended to the source of the great river which we supposed was the *Saint Esprit*. At the village of *Guasuli*, they gave us a great many dogs, and some corn to eat, which served us until we reached a village called *Chisca*, where we found an abundance of provisions. It is built on an island in the *Saint Esprit* river, and near its source." Garcilasso,[7] gives many more details. Ranjel,[8] scarcely differs from the preceding. He says that at Pacaha, west of the Mississippi River, De Soto remained, "twenty-seven or twenty-eight days, to discover if we could take a path to the northward, whereby to come out on the South Sea. Some incursions were made to capture Indians who might give us the information; particularly was one undertaken to the northwest, where we were told there were large settlements, through which we might go."

[6]Elvas, 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1589, 537-616; 3 Do., 5-58; 1 Bourne, 1905, 78-223; French's Louisiana, Part 2, 1850, 150-220.
[7]Shipp's translation, 1881, 373-487.
[8]2 Bourne, 1905, 15-40.

CHAPTER III

SPANISH CLAIMS CONTINUED

There are four accounts of this expedition of De Soto. The best known of these is that given by an unknown member of the army called the Gentleman of Elvas, a Portuguese, published in the Portuguese language in 1557, an English translation of which was given in Hakluyt's Voyages, which appeared in 1609, and later in B. F. French's Louisiana, part 2, 1850, and in E. G. Bourne's De Soto, 1905 appeared another English version. Another and much briefer account is that of Luis Hernandez de Biedma, King's Factor of the Expedition, made in 1544 to the King of Spain in Council, in Spanish published in 1857, an English translation of which appeared in B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana, Part II, 1850, pp. 97-109, and another English translation of which made by Buckingham Smith is in 2 E. G. Bourne's Hernando de Soto, 1905, pp. 1-40.

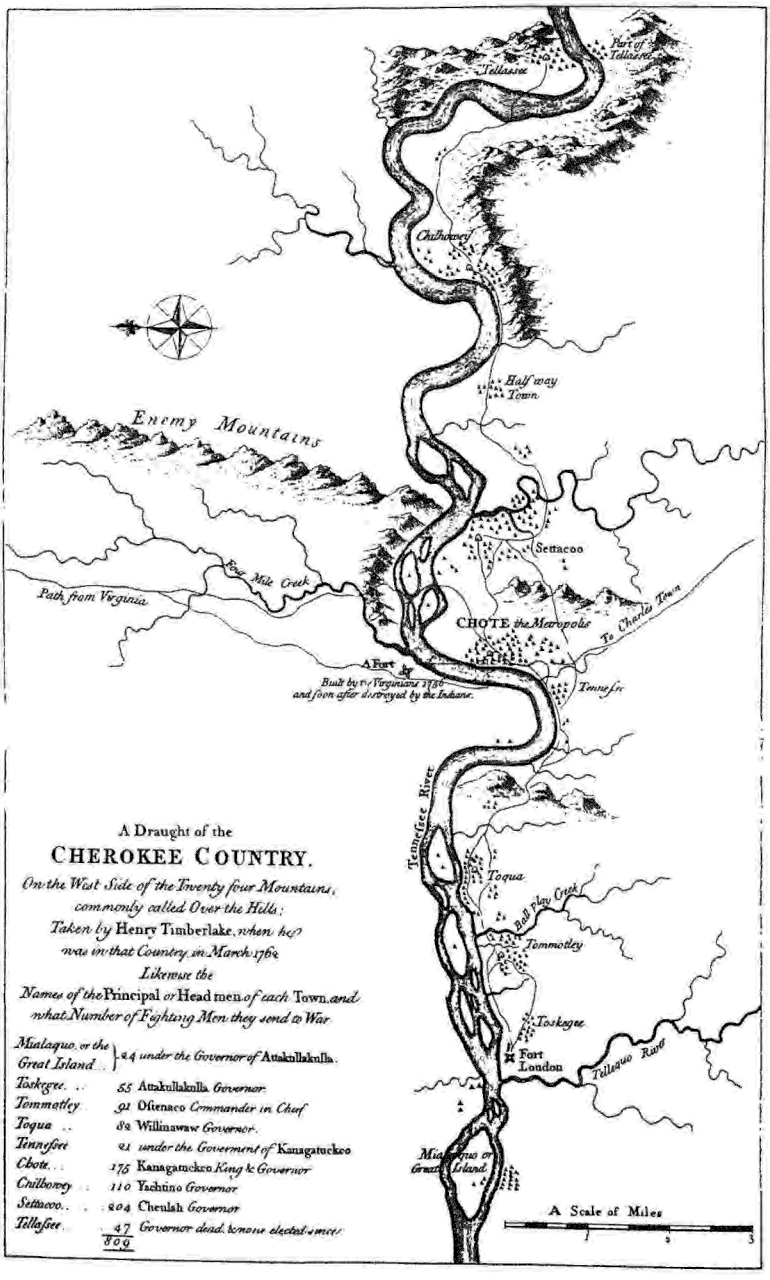
The third account is that of Garcilasso de la Vega, Inca, a contemporary of De Soto, given in the Florida of the Inca, or History of the Adelantado Fernando de Soto, in Spanish, finished in 1591 and printed in Lisbon in 1605, a French version of which by Pierre Richelet, made in 1670 and published again in 1711, was translated by Barnard Shipp in his History of Hernando de Soto and Florida, 1881. Garcilasso was not on the De Soto expedition but derived his information from members of that expedition whom he conversed with and the accounts of other Spanish adventurers and while not always as accurate as the earlier accounts, is much more elaborate and filled with more details.

"The fourth original account is an unfinished (Spanish) report by" (Rodrigo) "Ranjel, Secretary of the expedition, written soon after reaching Mexico, and afterward incorporated with considerable change by" (Gonzalo Fernandez de) "Oviedo" (y Valdes), "in his 'Historia natural y general de las Indias." This fourth narrative was not pub-

lished until 1851. It was translated into English by Edward Galor Bourne and published in 1905 in the second volume of his Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto, pp. 47-149. In it there is usually less detail than in the account of the Gentleman of Elvas, although otherwise they do not greatly disagree. As it is not always possible, however, in reading the Oviedo book to know whether a particular statement is that of Oviedo or Ranjel, this account is not as reliable as otherwise it would be.[9]

"The principal authorities, while preserving a general unity of narrative, differ greatly in detail, especially in estimates of numbers and distances, frequently to such an extent that it is useless to attempt to reconcile their different statements. In general the Gentleman of Elvas is most moderate in his expression, while Biedma takes a middle ground and Garcilasso exaggerates greatly. *** There have been many attempts to trace De Soto's route. As nearly every historian who has written of the southern states has given attention to this subject, it is unnecessary to enumerate them all. Of some thirty works consulted by the author, in addition to original narratives already mentioned, not more than two or three can be considered as speaking with any authority; the rest simply copying from these without investigation. The first attempt to locate the route definitely was made by Meek, (Romantic Passages, etc.), in 1830 (reprinted in 1857), his conclusions being based upon his general knowledge of the geography of the region. In 1851 Pickett tried to locate the route, chiefly, he asserts, from Indian tradition, as related by mix-bloods. How much dependence can be placed upon Indian tradition as thus interpreted three centuries after the event it is unnecessary to say. Both these writers have brought De Soto down the Coosa river, in which they have been followed without investigation by Irving, Shea and others, but none of these was aware of the existence of a Suwali tribe or correctly acquainted with the Indian nomenclature of the upper country, or of the Creek country as so well summarized by Gat-

[9] J. Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee in Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1902, 191; Goldsmid's Hakluyt's Voyages, vols. 2 and 3, 1889; Bourne's DeSoto, vols. 1 and 2, 1905; Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881; 2 French's Louisiana, 1850, 97-220.



A Draught of the

CHEROKEE COUNTRY.

On the West Side of the Twenty four Mountains, commonly called Over the Hills; Taken by Henry Timberlake, *when he was in that Country in March 1762*

Likewise the Names of the Principal *or* Head men *of each* Town, *and what Number of Fighting Men they send to War*

Mitaque, or the Great Island	24	*under the Governor of* Attakullakulla.
Toskegee	55	Attakullakulla *Governor.*
Tommotley	91	Ostenaco *Commander in Chief*
Toqua	82	Willinawaw *Governor.*
Tennessee	21	*under the Government of* Kanagatuckco
Chote	175	Kanagatuckco *King & Governor*
Chilhowey	110	Yachtino *Governor*
Settacoo	204	Cheulah *Governor*
Tellassee	47	*Governor dead, to move elected since*
	869	

THE CHEROKEE COUNTRY AS IT APPEARED IN 1762

schet in his Creek Migration Legend. They are also mistaken in assuming that only De Soto passed through the country, whereas we now know that several Spanish explorers and numerous French adventurers traversed the same territory, the latest expeditions of course being freshest in Indian memory. Jones in his 'De Soto's March Through Georgia' simply dresses up the earlier statements in more literary style, sometimes changing surmises to positive assertions, without mentioning his authorities. Maps of the supposed route, all bringing De Soto down the Coosa instead of the Chattahooche, have been published in Irving's Conquest of Florida, the Hakluyt Society's edition of the Gentleman of Elvas's account, and in Buckingham Smith's translation of the same narrative, as well as in several other works. For the eastern portion, with which we have to deal, all of these are practically duplicates of one another. On several old Spanish, and French maps the names mentioned in the narrative seem to have been set down merely to fill space without much reference to the text of the chronicle. For a list and notices of principal writers who have touched upon this subject see the appendix to Shea's chapter on 'Ancient Florida' in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, II; Boston, 1886. We shall speak only of that part of the route which lay near the Cherokee mountains.

"The first location which concerns us in the narrative is Cofitachiqui, the town from which De Soto set out for the Cherokee country. The name appears variously as Cofitachequi, (Ranjel), Cofitachique, (Biedma), Cofachiqui, (Garcilaso), Cutifa-Chiqui, (by transposition, Elvas), Cofetacque, (Vandera), Catafachique, (Williams), and Cosatachiqui, (misprint, Brooks' MSS.,) and the Spaniards first heard of the region as Yupaha from a tribe farther to the south. The correct form appears to be that first given, which Gatschet, from later information than that quoted in his Creek Migration Legend, makes a *Hitchitee* word about equivalent to 'Dogwood town,' from *cofi*, 'dogwood,' *cofiita*, 'dogwood thicket,' and *chiki*, 'house, or collectively 'town.' McCullock puts the town upon the headwaters of the Ocmulgee; Williams locates it on the Chattahoochee; Gallatin on the Oconee or the Savannah, Meek and Monette, follow-

ing him, probably in the fork of the Savannah and the Broad; Pickett, with Jones and others following him, at Silver Bluff on the east (north) bank of the Savannah, in Barnwell County, South Carolina, about 25 miles by water from the present Augusta. It will thus be seen that at the very outset of our inquiry the commentators differ by a distance equal to more than half the width of the state of Georgia. It will suffice to say, without going into the argument, that the author is inclined to believe that the Indian town was on or near Silver Bluff, which was noted for its extensive Indian remains as far back as Bartram's time, (Travels, 313), and where the noted George Golphin established a trading post in 1736. The original site has since been almost entirely worn away by the river. According to the Indians Cofitachiqui the town, which was on the farther (north) bank of the stream was two days' journey from the sea, probably by canoe, and the sailors with the expedition believed the river to be the same one that entered at St. Helena, which was a very close guess. The Spaniards were shown here European articles which they were told had been obtained from white men who had entered the river's mouth many years before. These they conjectured to have been the men with Ayllon who had landed on that coast in 1520 and again in 1524. The town was probably the ancient capital of the Uchee Indians, who, before their absorption by the Creeks, held or claimed most of the territory on both banks of Savannah river from the Cherokee border to within about forty miles of Savannah and westward to the Ogeechee and Cannouchee rivers. (See Gatschet, Creek Migration Legend, 1, 1724. The country was already on the decline in 1540 from a recent fatal epidemic, but was yet populous and wealthy, and was ruled by a woman chief whose authority extended for a considerable distance. The town was visited also by Pardo in 1567 and again by Torres in 1628, when it was still a principal settlement as rich in pearls as in De Soto's time. (Brooks' MSS., in the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology.)"[13]

Of Cofitachequi, an early historian says: "All Indian tradition locates this town at the modern Silver Bluff,

[13]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 191-194.

which is situated on the east bank of the Savannah, in Barnwell District, South Carolina. ***In 1736 George Golphin, then a young Irishman, established himself as an Indian trader at this point, and gave the old site of Cutifachiqui the name of Silver Bluff. The ancient Indians informed him that this was the place where De Soto found the Indian Princess; and this tradition agrees with that preserved by other traders, and handed down to me."[13] Dr. Henry Woodward, going from Port Royal, South Carolina, visited "Chufytachyas" in 1670 in a short journey and called the place "yt fruitfull Province where ye Emperr resides."[14] William Bartram about 1775 or 1776 describes the site as "Silver Bluff," but says that the place, "at this day is called Fort Moore," where, "In early times, the Carolinians had a fort, and kept a good garrison here as a frontier and Indian trading post, and probably the river on the Georgia side then occupied, through action of the Savanna river, the spot on which the fort had stood."[15] "Cofitachequi has usually been identified with Silver Bluff on Savannah River, about twenty-five miles south of Augusta, Ga."[16]

When De Soto left Cofitachequi, he "took the direction of the north ('le vuelta del norte'—Biedma), and, after passing through several towns subject to the queen, came in seven days to 'the province of Chalaque' (Elvas). Elvas, Garcilaso, and Ranjel agree upon the spelling. *** Chalaque is of course Cherokee, as all writers agree, and De Soto was now probably on the waters of Keowee river, the eastern head stream of Savannah river, where the lower Cherokee had their towns."[17] Passing a place not mentioned by any but Ranjel which he calls Guaquili, "They came next to the province of Xuala, or Xualla, as the Elvas narrative more often has it. In a French edition it appears as Chouala.***Biedma describes it as a rough mountain country, thinly populated, but with a few Indian houses, and thinks that in the mountains the great river Espiritu Santo (the Mississippi), had its birth. Ranjel describes the town as situated in a plain in the vicinity of rivers and in a country with greater ap-

[13]1 J. J. Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 6-7.
[14]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 208.
[15]William Bartram's Travels through North and South Carolina, 1792, 312-314.
[16]2 Bourne's DeSoto, 1905, p. 99, note to "Relation of Ranjel."
[17]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 194.

pearance of gold mines than any they had yet seen. The Portuguese gentleman describes it as having very little corn, and says that they reached it from Cofitachiqui over a hilly country. In his final chapter he states that the course from Cofitachiqui to this place was from south to north, thus agreeing with Biedma. According to Garcilaso***the town itself was situated close under a mountain, ('a la falda de una sierra') beside a small but rapid stream.***From Ranjel we learn that on the same day after leaving this place for the next 'province' the Spaniards crossed a very high mountain ridge, ('una sierra muy alta');***there can be no question of the identity of the name. As the province of Chalaque is the country of the Cherokee, so the province of Xuala is the territory of the Suali or Sara Indians, better known later as Cheraw, who lived in early times in the piedmont country about the head of Broad river in North Carolina, adjoining the Cherokee, who still remember them under the name of Ani-Suwali. A principal trail to their country from the west led up Swannanoa river and across the gap which, for this reason, was known to the Cherokee as Suwali-nuna, 'Suwali trail.' *** Lederer who found them in the same general region in 1670, calls this gap the 'Suala pass,' and the neighboring mountains the Sara mountains, 'which,' he says: 'The Spaniards make Suala.' They afterward shifted to the north and finally returned and were incorporated with the Catawba.[19]

"Up to this point the Spaniards had followed a north course from Cotifachiqui, (Biedma and Elvas), but they now turned to the west (Elvas, final chapter). On the same day on which they left Xuala they crossed 'a very high mountain ridge,' and descended the next day to a wide meadow bottom, ('savana'), through which flowed a river which they concluded was a part of the Espiritu Santo, the Mississippi (Ranjel). Biedma speaks of crossing a mountain country and mentions the river, which he also says they thought to be a tributary of the Mississippi. Garcilaso says that this portion of their route was through a mountain country without inhabitants, ('despoblado') and the Portuguese gentleman describes it as being over 'very rough

[19]See Mooney, Siouan Tribes of the East, bulletin of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1894.

and high ridges.' In five days of such travel—for here, for a wonder, all the narratives agree—they came to Guaxule. ***Turning our attention once more to Xuala, the most northern point reached by De Soto, we have seen that this was the territory of the Suwala or Sara Indians, in the eastern foothills of the Alleghenies, about the head waters of the Broad and Catawba rivers, in North Carolina. As the Spaniards turned here to the west, they probably did not penetrate far beyond the present South Carolina boundary. The 'very high mountain ridge' which they crossed immediately after leaving the town was in all probability the main chain of the Blue ridge, while the river which they found after descending to the savanna on the other side, and which they guessed to be a branch of the Mississippi, was almost as certainly the upper part of the French Broad, the first stream flowing in an opposite direction from those which they had previously encountered. They may have struck it in the neighborhood of Hendersonville or Brevard, there being two gaps passable for vehicles, in the main ridge eastward from the first named town. The uninhabited mountains through which they struggled for several days on their way to Chiaha and Coca, (the Creek country), in the southwest were the broken ridges in which the Savannah and the Little Tennessee have their sources."[20]

In addition to what the last mentioned author says in the quotation last made, he says in his Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, pages 56-61: "In 1540, De Soto, after leaving Cofachiqui, (identified as Silver Bluff on the Savannah, in Barnwell county, South Carolina), advanced along the border of the Chalaque (Cherokee), country, meeting several small villages of that tribe, and travelling through a pleasant country for about fifty leagues, equal to about 150 miles, reached the province of 'Xuala.' (In writing Indian names the early Spanish authors used *x* as the equivalent of *sh;* Xuala of the Spaniards is is Suala of Lederer, Suali of the Cherokee, and Suara and Cheraw of later writers.) From the narrative of Garcilaso the Sara must then have lived in the piedmont region about the present line between South Carolina and North Carolina, southeast of Asheville,

[20]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 194-196.

North Carolina. On the De l'Isle map 'Choula' is marked west of the upper Santee. From personal investigation among the Cherokee, I learn that the correct name of the Swannanoa gap through the Blue ridge, east of Asheville is Suwali-Nunahi, or 'Suwali trail,' that being the pass through which ran the trail from the Cherokee to the Suwali or Ani-Suwali living east of the mountains. The name of the Suwali tribe is still familiar to the Cherokee living in North Carolina. Lerderer in his narrative states that the tribe which he usually calls Sara, was called Suala, Sualy, or Sasa in the 'Warrenuncock' dialect. (Lederer, 7.) The interchange of *l* and *r*, it may be remarked, is one of the most common in Indian dialects. After stopping here" (at Xualla) "five days the Spaniards journeyed through a country of mountains and swift small streams into Guachule and thence down into Georgia.***That the Sara were an important tribe is evident from the persistence of the name to a very late period. As they lay so far remote from the settlements and rather back from the general route of the traders, little was known of them by English settlers and travelers until after their removal into Eastern South Carolina. It would probably be found, however, if the records could be searched, that De Soto was not the only Spanish leader who explored the country in search of gold in the early days of the colonization period. It was the jealous policy of the Spanish government to keep the knowledge of such expeditions a secret, but from the vivid traditions still retained by the Cherokee of North Carolina, as recounted to the author, it is evident that the Spaniards made many expeditions into the mountains and carried on mining operations in different places during the period of their occupancy of Florida and the adjacent coast of Georgia and South Carolina.

"The next visit to the Sara of which records are known was 130 years later than De Soto. In 1670 Lederer, after passing successively through the territories of the Saponi, Occaneechi, Eno, Shoccoree, and Wateree arrived among the Sara. He describes their village as being near the mountains, which at this point became lower and turned from their general southward or southwestward direction and veered westward. As the tribes next met by him were the

Waxhaw and Catawba, it is evident that he found the Sara about where De Soto had found them in 1540. He states that the neighboring mountains were called Sara, which the Spaniards made Suala—another evidence of Spanish presence in this upper region. Beyond the mountains, west and north of the Sara, lived the Rickohockan (Cherokee).*** Some time after this the Sara removed northward and settled on the Dan river.***Shortly after this date (1701)*** they abandoned their beautiful home on the Dan, and, moving southeastward, joined the Keyawee.***Governor Eden, of North Carolina, declared war against the Sara.***The war against the Sara and their allies was carried on by the two Carolina governments until the final defeat and expulsion of the Yamasi from South Carolina.***At the close of the Yamasi war the Sara tribe, who now began to be known as Cheraw, were located on the upper Peedee, where it crosses from North Carolina into South Carolina.***The last notice of the tribe seems to be in 1768, when we find them still living with the Catawba, but so reduced by wars and sickness that they numbered only 50 or 60 souls. (Mass. 3.) The Catawba and their confederate tribes together then numbered only about 500 souls." On the map prefixed to Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, Xuala is put down at the head waters of Catawba and Broad Rivers near the Southern boundary of North Carolina.[23]

Speaking of De Soto's march it has been said: "A few days' march northward from Cofitachiqui, they came to a province called Chalaque, the territory of the Cherokee Indians. Northward still they came to the province of Xuala, which Mr. Mooney places in the piedmont region about the head waters of the Broad and Catawba rivers in North Carolina. Here the Spaniards found greater indications of gold-mines than any they had yet seen. Turning toward the west, they crossed a high mountain range, (probably the main chain of the Blue Ridge), on the other side of which they came to a stream that flowed in the opposite direction from those previously encountered. It is probable that this was one of the upper tributaries of the French Broad River. ***At Chiaha, De Soto remained a month for needed rest

[23]See also Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 380 and 409; and his article on the "Cheraw" in 2 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1907, 244-245.

for man and beast. As an Indian chief confirmed what he had heard of mines, he sent two soldiers on foot with Indian guides to find Chisca and to learn the truth of the stories. After the army had left Chiaha, the explorers rejoined their companions. The accounts of the reports that they brought are contradictory, but De Soto had spent a month among the mountains and made no further effort to find the Cherokee mines. It is now known that native copper is found throughout the whole southern Allegheny region; the other 'metal' of which the Spaniards had heard may have been gold and it may have been pyrites."[21]

"The history of the expedition, so far as its route lay in the country of the Cherokee Indians, was recently re-examined (in the light of personal study of the gography and ethnology of the country traversed), by Mr. James Mooney of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology. For that part of the story Mr. Mooney's conclusions are herein accepted as the latest and best authority on the subject."[22] See on page 287 of the same volume James Mooney's map of De Soto's expedition. Mr. Mooney was not the first, however, to conclude that Xualla was in or near the present North Carolina. In his, part II of, Historical Collections of Louisiana, page 101, Mr. B. F. French, in 1850, in a foot note at the name Xuala in the account of Luis Hernandez de Biedma of which he therein gives an English translation, says of Xuala, "The most northern point of De Soto's travels, and probably in the latitude of 35 degrees N." This parallel of north natitude is the most southern boundary of the western part of North Carolina; and although that part of North Carolina east of the Blue Ridge is somewhat farther north, that parallel constitutes the entire dividing line between North Carolina and Georgia. To that same work of French's Historical Collections of Louisiana is prefixed a copy of a portion of the map of William De l'Isle, ("Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississippi"), in which is put down De Soto's route, ("Route de Soto, 1540"), showing Chouala to be in Caroline, south of Virginie, north of the towns of the Cheraqui, on the head streams of a river, at the eastern foot of a

[21] 1 E. M. Avery's History of the United States, 1904, 289-290.
[22] Ibid., 286.

mountain range and in latitude north thirty-six and one-half degrees, a very little north of west from Kataba, (the Catawbas having, since the earliest acquaintance with the whites, lived just south of the present North Carolina border and a few miles south of the present city of Charlotte and on the parallel of thirty-five degrees north latitude), between the western head stream of the Santee, ("R. Sante") River (Broad River), and the eastern head stream of the Santee ("R. Santee") River (Catawba River), and on the eastern side of the ridge (Blue Ridge) opposite a river that starts from the western side of that ridge and runs northwest (French Broad), into the Tennessee River ("R. Tinnasi," otherwise "Riv. des Casquinambeaux ou Cheraqui). From Chouala this map makes the route of De Soto extend a little south of west to Chiaha in a fork of the two most northern head waters of a river thereon marked "R. des Caenitas ou R. de May (apparently the Ocmulgee or Altamaha River). This location of Chouala is precisely that of James Mooney. This location of Chiaha differs but little from that of Mooney who places it among "the head waters of the Chattahoochee" which are very near to the head waters of the Ocmulgee. Another copy of this De l'Isle map is in 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 294-295. William De l'Isle was a famous French geographer born in 1675, who published in 1700 a series of maps of the world, ancient and modern, and in 1724 a new edition thereof with additions. He was appointed in 1718, "first geographer of France" and died in 1726.[17]

Some things in regard to the De Soto expedition are certain, namely: That Vasquez de Ayllon landed in what is now the vicinity of Port Royal, South Carolina, and named an island there Saint Helena, because he arrived at it on the anniversary of Saint Helen and that island has ever since borne that name; That Cofitachiqui was on a large river which enters the Atlantic Ocean very near this island of Saint Helena and that town of Cofitachiqui was at a place where that river was wide and deep and about as far from its sources in the mountains as it was from that island; That a few days travel north from Cofitachiqui was

[17] Rose's Biographical Dictionary, 1853, 50; Lippincott's Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary, 1896, 795; 2 French's Louisiana, VI, as to map.

the southern border of the Cherokee lands which lay at the head of Savannah River with their southern border at the southern foot of the Appalachian Mountains of which the Blue Ridge is the eastern range; That the Indians had a trail along the southern foot of these mountains from the Savannah River northward into what is North Carolina and that forces of De Soto passed along in that direction in going from Cofitachiqui to Xualla, stopping at, but not on, a mountain and traversing a country, level in comparison with the mountains immediately to the west of their road but otherwise hilly and intersected by numerous small streams running to the east but by no large stream; That Xualla was the country of the Suwali, Suala, or Sara Indians near the very heads of the Broad and Catawba Rivers where those rivers reach the foot of the Blue Ridge on its eastern side and in a region then and now producing gold; That at Xualla De Soto turned from a northern course to a western one and immediately passed over in about two days' march a high ridge with his army and horses; That the gap in the Blue Ridge at the head of Broad River is Hickorynut Gap and the gap in that ridge at the head of the Catawba River is Swannanoa Gap and from Savannah River northward no other gap in that ridge could have been passed without penetrating instead of skirting on its southern border the Cherokee country, before passing the ridge; That crossing that ridge from the east De Soto would, if he went through Hickorynut Gap, have entered what became Buncombe County and if he went through Swannanoa Gap, have entered Buncombe County, and, by descending Swannanoa River, have passed through what is the City of Asheville; That when he crossed the high ridge at either of these gaps he would come immediately to a stream which was tributary to the French Broad River nearby, a river whose course was opposite in direction to any stream which he had passed, and a stream which flowed in the direction of the Mississippi River of which it is ultimately a confluent; That if De Soto passed over the Blue Ridge through either of these gaps he must have then marched for at least five days for as much as twenty leagues through a rough and mountainous and uninhabited country, "full of oak and mulberry trees, good pastures and small streams which flowed among

valleys very cool and agreeable," in order to reach a country where the rivers yielded pearls as do the Tennessee River and some of its tributaries, and among them the French Broad River in its western portion; That passing through this mountain region on a road from Hickorynut Gap or Swannanoa Gap south until he came to a place in the country but not far south of the mountains as Chiaha was, De Soto would have reached a place from which in two or three days' journey might have been arrived at, through a rough way, very rugged mountains impassable to an army with horses which yielded abundance of copper, such for instance as Ducktown very close to the southwestern extremity of the present State of North Carolina, and to the northern boundary of the present State of Georgia, and the country northward from Ducktown along the eastern slopes of the Smoky Mountains; That for De Soto to have crossed the Blue Ridge through Hickorynut Gap or Swannanoa Gap would have met fully all these conditions mentioned in the different accounts of his march and apparently these conditions could have been met only by passing through one of those gaps.

For a list of works which discuss the route of De Soto see 2 Justin Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 294-296. The accounts of the death of De Soto are conflicting; and this gave rise to a suspicion that he was poisoned by some member of his party who wished to abandon an enterprise which had entailed so much suffering of which no cessation appeared probable, which promised no good results or who had personal grievances.[7]

Mexico was conquered by Hernando Cortez from 1519 to 1521, Cortez exercised control there as conqueror until 1522 when he received the appointment of governor and captain general of New Spain.[8] Charges of disloyalty against him, of using the royal fund and peculation reached Spain and, in July, 1526, a young man named Ponce de Leon arrived in Mexico to investigate the charges during which investigation, the authority of Cortez was suspended, but the young man died in a few weeks, delegating his authority to an old man who also died in a few months transmitting the

[7] L. A. Wilmer's Life of Ferdinand DeSoto, 1859.
[8] 8 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 391.

government to the royal treasurer, named Estrada or Strada whose authority was confirmed. In 1529 the government of Mexico was placed in the body called the Royal Audience.

In 1535 Mexico was placed under the government of viceroys. Antonia de Mendoza had been appointed viceroy in 1530 but did not reach his government as first viceroy until October 1535. A man of ability, his rule was able and worthy. In 1536 he imported into Mexico a printing press, the first in America, and established a mint for coining money; and in 1537 he founded in Mexico the first college. His viceroyalty of Mexico expired in 1549 when he became viceroy of Peru. While in Mexico he learned the stories of Cabeza de Vaca about large, wealthy and cultivated cities in the north where were gold, silver, and precious stones in profusion. This was too much for a Spaniard, especially as the people of those cities had never become Christians and never enjoyed the unutterable blessings of the Spanish Inquisition. He prepared to conquer these unfortunate people in the manner of Spanish conquest, by sending to them priests to "say gospels," and "baptize" them, and fierce dogs to tear them in pieces, while they were relieved of their riches and accommodated with the chains and iron collars of slaves. The expedition was placed under the command of Francisco Vasquez de Coronada, a Spaniard, and consisted of two hundred and fifty horsemen, seventy Spanish foot soldiers with crosbows and arquebuses, three hundred Indian allies, and more than a thousand Indian and negro servants. De Soto, about to start from Cuba to Florida, learned of this contemplated enterprise of Mendoza and sent a message to the latter urging that there be no interference with De Soto's rights. Mendoza replied that Florida was a big country and his expedition was not in conflict with De Soto's undertaking and grants.[3]

Coronado's army left Compostela on the Pacific, February 23, 1540 and about July 4, he reached the famed "Seven Cities of Cibola," finding only some Zuni pueblos in New Mexico. Then he discovered the Grand Canyon of the Colo-

[3] W. H. Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, b. 7, c. 5.

rado and proceeded to a great city of Quivira of which he then heard, where there was a rich King with a long beard. He found prairies and many "hump backed oxen" (bison or buffaloes), until he came, at last, to a place near the Great Bend of the Arkansas River in eastern Kansas where were some huts which their Indian guide said was Quivira but there was no gold. "They garroted him." They had named him "The Turk." "There were already some in the army who suspected the Turk, because a Spaniard named Cervantes, who had charge of him during the siege" (of a place called Tiguex which they had captured) "solemnly swore that he had seen the Turk talking with the devil in a pitcher of water, and also that while he had him under lock so that no one could speak to him, the Turk had asked him what Christians had been killed by the people of Tiguex. He told him nobody, and then the Turk answered 'you lie, five Christians are dead, including a captain.' As Cervantes knew that he told the truth he confessed it so as to find out who had told him about it, and the Turk said he knew it all by himself and that he did not need to have any one tell him in order to know it. And it was on account of this that he watched him and saw him speaking to the devil in the pitcher, as I have said."[5] Finding nothing of interest, Coronado returned along the line of the Santa Fe trail to the Rio Grande and, in the spring of 1542 started on his way to Mexico by Cibola-Zuni and the Gulf of California.[6] Mendoza was greatly disappointed. Coronado had been gone two years, had explored what are now New Mexico, Arizona, Nebraska, Kansas, and other parts of the west as extensive as the Atlantic Coast from Maine to Georgia while DeSoto had at the same time explored such an extent of the east as made their combined journeys east west reach across the present United States. They were near each other in the vicinity of Quivira. Coronado heard of DeSoto and sent a letter to him which failed to reach its

[5]Garcilasso, Barnard Shipp's translation, 1881, 253-254; 8 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 120; B. F. DeCosta's Verrazano the Explorer, 1881, 17; 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 162; 3 Ibid., 59-66, 112-135, 678; Winship's Journey of Coronado, 1904, 62 and passim; 4 Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1894, 297-298; 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 473-504.

[6]3 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 117-135.

destination.[1] DeSoto's party heard of that of Coronado. On the journey of Coronado see Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892, 93, pt. 1, 329-613. Winship's Coronada. 1904. The whole territory of the present United States was thus at one time infested by two parties of invaders. Murdering and robbing as they went for the benefit of humanity they cordially hated each other and when opportunity was given usually such miscreants as invaders have murdered and robbed each other.

The Spaniards said that they owned Florida. In 1561 the Council of the Indies answered a communication from their sovereign, the King of Spain, "requesting it to give him their definition of the rights of the King to Florida, and whether the French can take possession of that country and build forts there," by telling "the king that his title to the county of Florida is clear and indisputable, and founded on the gift of Pope Alexander VI., and the taking possession of that country by Governor-general Don Angel de Villafane, is the same country which the French have recently taken possession of and built a fort there called Carolin, and the same country which Guido de las Bazares took formal possession of in 1558, and which the fleets and ships of the King of Spain have at different times explored and taken possession of, Juan Ponce de Leon was the first to discover and take possession and after him Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, and after him Pamfilo de Narvaez and after Narvaez, Hernando de Soto, all of whom, and many others, were commissioned by your majesty to explore and take possession of Florida, and therefore the French have no right to interfere, as they might hereafter built forts, interrupt commerce, and capture the ships of your majesty coming from the Indies.'"

On a map prepared in 1521 and published by Navarete, is shown the boundaries of the claims of three Spanish explorers, Juan Ponce de Leon, Francisco de Garay, and Diego Velasquez. The peninsula of Florida is laid down just above the island of Cuba on the right and is marked, "Florida

[1] 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 292; 3 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 133-135.
[2] Theodore Irving's Conquest of Florida, 1835, 174; Garcilasso, Barnard Shipp's translation, 1881, 440.
[3] Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 493-494; B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, 1875, Second Series, 240, note.

called Bimini, which Juan Ponce discovered." From this toward the left and around in that direction to the bottom of the map an irregular line marks the outline of the Gulf of Mexico. Immediately west of Florida is written "As far as this Juan Ponce discovered." A short way further west is written "From here Francisco Garay began to discover." Still further west and near to the place where is the mouth of the Mississippi appears and opening in the irregular line marked "Ro del Espirito Santo." (River of the Holy Spirit). Southwest from this at a considerable distance is a similar opening marked "Ro Panuco." At the southern part where this irregular outline turns somewhat to the right is written, "as far as this place Francisco de Garay discovered toward the west and Diego Velasquez toward the east as far as Cabo de las Higueras, which the Pinzons discovered, and the population has given it to them."[10] These inscriptions are all in Spanish. According to them and the statements of the leading Spanish historian, Herrera, Juan Ponce de Leon explored the eastern coast of Florida from La Cruz south of the thirty-first parallel of north latitude to a point on the southwestern coast of that peninsula about Appalachee Bay; and the explorations of Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda began about Appalachicola Bay and extended around the Gulf coast as far as the Panuco River in Mexico.[11] See map of the "Gulf of Mexico in 1536" in 2 Justin Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 225; H. Stevens's Historical and Geographical Notes on the Earliest Discoveries in America, 1869, 38-39. According to the inscription on this map it seems that the Mississippi River was first discovered at its mouth in 1519 and named the River of the Holy Spirit and that the credit of its first discovery belongs to Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda and not to DeSoto. Of course this inscription might have been meant for some bay or river to the east, such as Mobile Bay,[12] or, may be, some bay or river to the west, such as Galveston Bay. B. F. French insists that it was meant for the Mississippi River. [13] Lopez Gomara, the Secretary of Hernando

[10]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 278-279.
[11]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 279.
[12]P. J. Hamilton's Colonial Mobile, 1897, 10, 13; 1 A. Fortier's History of Louisiana, 1904, 4.
[13]Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 10, 243-244; Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 47-48, note.

Cortez, whose Historia General de las Indians first appeared in 1552, after mentioning the river Flores, says, "from which river it is seventy leagues to the Bay of the Holy Spirit (Baya del Espiritu Santo), called by another name La Culata (the breech of a gun), which river flows out into the ocean thirty leagues and is in twenty-nine degrees,"[14] necessarily had reference to the Mississippi River, but this statement was later than the DeSoto expedition. Coronado ascribes the discovery of the Mississippi River to DeSoto when he says that the "mighty river of the Holy Spirit" is that "which the men with Hernando de Soto discovered in Florida."[15] Apparently Coronado had not heard of the river until after the DeSoto expedition as he probably would have done had it been discovered by Pineda twenty-one years earlier.

Guido de las Bazares, on September 3, 1558 with a large bark, galley, and shallop and sixty sailors and soldiers, left the port of San Juan de Ulua (Vera Cruz) in New Spain (Mexico) to explore the Florida coast, passed the parallel of north latitude 27° 30′ and found a bay at 28° 30′ which he named Saint Francisco, thence to the Alacranes running along the coast from northwest to southeast, and at 29° 30′ found an island and after that marshes which he called Bay of Bas-Fonde and ten leagues further on a bay at 30° 30′ remarkably large and commodious which he named Filipina (said to be Pensacola), the best harbor on that coast with a well wooded mainland in a climate like Spain's and an island and apparently a large river. This shore was inhabited and cultivated and about two hundred and sixty leagues from San Juan de Lua (Vera Cruz). Bad weather stopped his explorations, he renamed Filipina, calling it Velasco, and returned to San Juan de Lua.[16]

Luis de Velasco, Count of Santiago, was appointed by Charles V. to be viceroy of Mexico, and reached that country December, 1550. In 1556 a memorial from him and the Bishop of Cuba, to whose diocese Florida belonged, was sent to Charles, enlarging upon the riches of Florida and the benefits to the empire and religion which would fol-

[14]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 279.
[15]Winship's Journey of Coronado, 1904, 76-77.
[16]Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 491-492; B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 236-242.

low the acquisition and possession of that country. Much of this was due to the glowing accounts of that vast land carried to Mexico by the followers of DeSoto reaching there. Thereupon the Mexican viceroy was ordered to send an expedition for the conquest of Florida. Velasco dispatched the expedition with fifteen hundred men, abundant provisions, and some friars, from Vera Cruz in Mexico in the spring of 1559 under the command of Tristan de Luna y Arellano. It reached Florida at the Bay of Santa Maria, later Pensacola, in August; disembarked; penetrated northward many leagues into the interior; sent a detachment of four companies under a sergeant-major still northward thrice as far and another sergeant-major with two hundred men and two friars yet farther north which come to a country called Coca; and remained many months in Florida. The expedition seemed fated; it endured great hardships and privations; lost many men by starvation although getting supplies once or twice from Mexico; had numerous mutinies; accomplished nothing; and, obedient to an order from the viceroy, returned to Mexico. While it was in Florida there arrived at Santa Maria Don Angel de Villefane, "who had been sent out by the viceroy of Cuba as Governor of Florida with instructions to make an examination of the shores of the gulf, which, in consequence of the continual storms he had been unable to do." The failure of the expedition under Tristan de Luna was a great disappointment to Velasco.[12] Strangely enough, this enterprise seems to have escaped opposition from the Indians. Perhaps the Indians preferred to watch the Christians destroy each other. Strangely too it seems to have met with no traces of DeSoto's march.

Don Angel de Villafane, Governor and Captain-General of Florida, was sent out by Don Francisco de Garay, Viceroy of Jamaica, with instructions to make an examination of the coasts of Florida. On May 27, 1561, with two frigates and a caravel, he arrived at Saint Helena and passed four or five leagues up the river Jordan (Santee) and took possession of the country in the name of Charles IX. Find-

[12]G. R. Fairbank's History of Florida, 1871, 77-91; 6 Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1894, 272-273; 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 256-259; B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana asd Florida, Second Series, 1875, 238-240, note.

ing no place suitable for a colony, he put to sea, and having doubled Cape St. Roman (apparently meant for Cape Fear), in 34° north latitude, he landed on the 2nd of June, and ordered a ship to make soundings, and found the bottom good, came to a large river whose mouth was near the Cape (St. Roman?), called it "Jordan," came back to river Jordan with two frigates, lost an anchor near Cape St. Roman, sent Don Alonzo Velasquez with a frigate to the river of *Canoes* (Del las Canoas) in latitude north 34½° and, on June 14, reached Cape Trafalgar (Lookout) in 35° north latitude. Encountering a severe storm, he proceeded to the port of *Monte Christo*, Hispaniola, July 9, 1561.[18]

The geography of this account is not clear. A writer says that Villafane, doubled Cape Hatteras where, on June 14, 1561, he encountered the storm. "He is said to have abandoned the exploration of the coast here, although apparently it was his vessel, with the Dominican Fathers, which about this time visited Axacan, on the Chesapeake, and took off a brother of the chief *** The Indian, however, may have been found among a still more southerly tribe."[19] This voyage of Don Angel de Villafane appears to have not been understood alike by those who have written about it. Fairbanks says: "At length there arrived at the port of Santa Maria, Don Angel de Villafane, who had been sent out by the Viceroy of *Cuba* as Governor of Florida with instructions to make an examination of the shores of the Gulf of Mexico."[20]

"Probably Villafane's mission related to both the Gulf of Mexico and Atlantic coasts of Florida."

It has been claimed that in 1520 or 1521 Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon went to Chesapeake Bay and formed a settlement there which was broken up by the Indians; and, in 1526, he "attempted to colonize north of Cape Trafalgar, (Hatteras.)"[20a]

It is evident that the Spanish authorities were still confident that another land like Peru, rich in gold and gems existed in the southeastern part of the present United States. They were still to make efforts to find such a land there.

[18]French's Louisiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 239-240, note.
[19]2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 260.
[20]History of Florida, 1871, 89; see too 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 259-260.
[20a] 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 238-241, 285.

It is also evident that the French had imbibed the same idea and determined to precede the Spaniards in the discovery and occupation of that rich land. Probably the same misconception was a part of the dreams of the English Sir Walter Raleigh. All were destined to disappointment.

How far north the detachment of two hundred men under a sergeant-major went is unknown, as is also the part of the Southern States to which it went. Fairbanks concluded "upon comparing the narrative of the expedition of the sergeant-major of DeLuna with the accounts of Cabeca de Vaca and DeSoto, that the sergeant-major must have wandered through some barren portion of Lower Alabama, and failed to reach more than the outskirts of the numerous Indian settlements in the country bordering on the Coosa and the Tennessee Rivers, and which DeVaca and DeSoto had rightly described as rich and fertile";[21] and that "The province of Coca was the Coosa country in the northeastern part of Alabama."[22] Charles C. Jones says: "Influenced by the representations made by the returned soldiers of DeSoto's expedition of the quantity of gold, silver, and pearls existent in the province of Cosa, Luis de Velasco dispatched his general, Tristan de Luna, to open communication with Cosa by way of Pensacola Bay. Three hundred Spanish soldiers of this expedition, equipped with mining tools, penetrated to the valley of the Coosa and passed the summer of 1560 in northern Georgia and the adjacent region."[23] Charles C. Jones also says when speaking of DeSoto's expedition: "We do not now allude to the remains of an ancient village—the cabins of which were made of logs hewn and knotched by means of chopping-axes,—unearthed by Colonels Merriwether and Lunsden in Duke's Creek valley in 1834, or to the traces of early mining in Valley River valley and adjacent localities, where deep shafts passing through gneiss rock, their sides scarred by the impression of sharp tools, and windlasses of postoak with cranks and gudgeon holes were observed; the trees growing above the old settlement and springing from the mouths and sides of these

[21] G. R. Fairbanks's History of Florida, 1871, 90.
[22] Ibid., 88.
[23] Charles C. Jones's History of Georgia, 1883, 69; 5 Justin Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1887, 359.

abandoned pits not less than two hundred years old. These are to be referred to the labors of Tristan de Luna, who, in 1560, at the command of Louis de Velasco, came with three hundred Spanish soldiers into this region and spent the summer in eager and laborious search for gold. This expedition moved up from Pensacola; and was dispatched on the faith of the representations, made by returned soldiers from DeSoto's command, of the presence of precious metal among the mountains."[24] This same writer further says: "So carried away was Luis De Velasco with the representations made by the returned soldiers of DeSoto's Expedition, with regard to gold, silver, and pearls abounding in the province of 'Cosa,' that he dispatched his general, Tristan de Luna, to open communication with Cosa by way of Pensacola Bay. Three hundred Spanish soldiers of this expedition penetrated quite to the valley of the Coosa in Northern Georgia, and there passed the summer of 1560."[25]

The Valley River, North Carolina, remains of European mining operations, discovered in 1854, mentioned may have been made, as Colonel Jones says, by men under DeLuna's sergeant-major in 1560. The Duke's Creek, Georgia, remains of European mining operations may also, as suggested by him, have been made by the same men in 1560. He describes these as follows: "In 1834, Colonels Merriwether and Lunsden, while engaged in digging a canal in Duke's Creek Valley for the purpose of facilitating their mining operations, unearthed a subterranean village consisting of thirty-four small cabins, located in a straight line extending upward of three hundred feet. They were made of logs hewn at the end and knotched down, after the fashion of the rude log-huts of the present day. This hewing and knotching had evidently been done with sharp metallic tools, the marks being such as would have been caused by a chopping axe. Above these little houses—situated from fifty to one hundred yards from the principal channel of the creek, and embedded from seven to nine feet below the surface of the ground—trees were growing from two to three feet in diameter. The estimated age of these trees

[24] Charles C. Jones's History of Georgia, 1883, 58.
[25] Charles C. Jones's Antiquities of the Southern Indians, 1873, 50-51.

was somewhat over two hundred years.'"[28] It has been sometimes supposed that the detachment of two hundred men of De Luna's forces, sent under a sergeant-major, penetrated far into Western North Carolina, even farther northeastwardly therein than Valley River, now in Cherokee County of that State. But the idea that De Luna's men entered what is North Carolina finds no favor with some competent investigators. James Mooney, who. except when his Northern prejudices against the South are involved, is usually a creditable and credible writer, says: "Jones, in his DeSoto's March through Georgia, incorrectly ascribes certain traces of ancient mining operations in the Cherokee country, particularly on Valley River in North Carolina, to the followers of De Luna, 'who, in 1560—came with 300 Spanish soldiers into this region, and spent the summer in eager and laborious search for gold; Don Tristan de Luna, with fifteen hundred men, landed some where about Mobile bay in 1559 with the design of establishing a permanent Spanish settlement in the interior, but owing to a succession of unfortunate happenings the attempt was abandoned the next year. In the course of his wanderings he traversed the country of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and upper Creeks, as is shown by the names and other data in the narrative, but returned without entering the mountains or doing any digging; (see Barcia, Ensayo Chronologico, pp. 32-41, 1723; Winsor, Narrative and Critical History, II., pp. 257-259)." See Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 492-493.)

In spite of many ineffectual and costly efforts to find a Peru in that part of North America immediately north of Mexico, some led by experienced explorers such as Hernando de Soto, the Spaniards persisted that there was such a country and sent their expensive expeditions in search of it. This would seem to indicate that they had private information on the subject which they deemed highly credible. As other European nations exhibited a confidence in the same opinion, they too must have heard something which seemed entitled to peculiar credit. The result showed that while the mineral wealth of that region was much exaggerated there were gold, silver and gems there. Spain

[28]Charles C. Jones's Antiquities of the Southern Indians, 1873, 48; 1 Charles C. Jones's History of Georgia, 1884, 487-488.

was now about to put forth her greatest effort to find the home of this wealth whose existence few appeared to doubt.

Pedro Menendez de Aviles, a Spaniard, was born in 1523. He became a sailor and as such held various positions of importance under the Emperor Charles V., and Charles's son, Philip II., and was captain of the vessel in which the latter monarch went to England, in July, 1554, to marry his cousin, Mary ("Bloody Mary.") The command of Spanish fleets to the West Indies had been entrusted to Menendez, one in 1560 and the other in 1561, and on his return from the expedition of the latter his ships were scattered near Bermuda and his son lost. He had served against pirates and had acquired considerable wealth in the western world. On his return in 1561 charges were preferred against him and he was convicted and fined. He had been eager to return to America in hopes of finding his lost son there among the Indians. By an agreement with Philip II. Menendez was to colonize, explore and conquer Florida within three years at his own expence, to make a survey of the coast of Florida for the preparation of charts, and to enjoy free trade with Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Cuba, and Spain and to be Adelantado and Marquis of Florida for life. While he was preparing his forces, news reached Spain that a band of French Protestants had invaded Florida and were attempting to plant a colony there. Nothing so exasperates thieves as encroachments upon their field of spoliation by other thieves. Spanish royalty came to the aid of Menendez, and with a large force he set out for Florida which he reached on August 28, 1565 where he discovered a good harbor and attractive country; and, because he had first seen Florida on the day assigned in the Roman calendar to that prelate, he named the harbor and river Saint Augustine.[25] "He was invested with power almost absolute, not merely over the peninsula which now retains the name of Florida, but over all North America, from Labrador to Mexico; for this was the Florida of the old Spanish geographers, and the Florida designated in the commission of Menendez. *** His plan, as

[25]F. Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World, 1899, ch. 7, pp. 96-103; Fairbanks's History of Florida, 1871, 112-115; B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 190-209; 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 260-263.

afterwards exposed at length in his letters to Philip the Second, was, first, to plant a garrison at Port Royal, and next to fortify strongly on Chesapeake Bay, called by him St. Mary's." He called Port Royal by the older Spanish name of the vicinity Saint Helena.[29] Soon after arriving at Florida he saw some of the French fleet. The French knew that Menendez was coming and were directed "see you that you suffer him not to encroch vpon you, no more than he would that you should encroch vpon him." Some sharp words followed between bodies of fanatical robbers and the French fled, pursued by the Spanish. Menendez returned to his harbor and, on September 8, 1565 commenced a town there which he called Saint Augustine. Thus was begun the oldest city in the United States. Thus it came about that the conceited and mendacious priest who had so confidently declared that there could be no antipodes, and if there were no one could get to them and who, with complacent assurance, had sneered at the teaching of the philosopher Plato that the earth was a sphere which could be travelled around, was signally honored, without desert, by having his own name bestowed upon the earliest town in the principal country of these same antipodes, established by people who went from Europe, a thing which they were able to do only because the earth is a sphere and can be circumnavigated just as Plato said. The name, however designed, must ever remain a monument to the folly of arrogant impudence when it assails learning and superior ability. The French then were wrecked when preparing to attack the Spanish. Menendez, on September 25, captured the French town, "Fort Carolina" and killed those inhabitants of it who did not escape or get mercy, saying that he slaughtered them not as Frenchmen but as Lutherans. He named the river there San Mattheo because he took the town on Saint Matthew's day. Much sentiment has been wasted on this crime of murdering Protestants. Two bodies of antagonistic religionists had set out to rob the Indians and destroy each other. One succeeded: the other complained. The act was atrocious. It saved the perpetrators from the same fate at the hands of their victims. Soon the French came and, with even

[29]Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World, 1899, ch. 7, pp. 103-104.

greater atrocity, murdered the Spanish there.[1] The Protestants (Huguenots) had demonstrated their ability to outstrip in excessive brutality even the ever infamous Spanish Catholics. The savage Indians must have regarded with amazement the lengths of barbarisms of which these disciples of heavenly love were capable in the gratification of hatred engendered by fanatical disputes about incomprehensible nothings and meaningless phrases of canting incoherent impudence. Menendez now directed attention to his new colony of Saint Augustine. It needed attention. The colonists, like most of the first American settlers, spent their time in idleness, and depended for support on what they could take from the Indians. Following the purpose of their coming, they devoted their endeavors to baptizing and robbing the natives. Famine and mutiny succeeded. Menendez, after building a fort in the vicinity at Saint Lucia, near Capaveral, went to Cuba for supplies. Failing in obtaining help there, some of his lost vessels opportunely arrived at that island. He sent one to Campeachy for provisions and returned to Saint Augustine, "delaying, however, for a time in South Florida, to seek intelligence among the Indians of his lost son." Some of his colonists deserted to Hispaniola. After that he proceeded along the eastern coast of Florida northward "to San Matteo, and thence to Guale, Amelia and adjoining islands, Orista and St. Helena," preached theology to the Indians, planted crosses at their council-houses, explained that the Lutherans were bad Christians who believed in lies and deserved to be killed because they had come to mislead the Indians, "as they had already before misled and deceived many good Christians, in order that the devil may take possession of them." At St. Helena, by permission of the Indians he erected a fort and left a garrison. "On his return he also erected Fort San Felipe, at Orista," and set up a cross at Guale. "The colony left at St. Helena mutinied almost immediately, and seizing

[1] 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 506, 524-533; 3 Ibid., 407-533; Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World, 1899, ch. 7, 8, 109-151, 157-178; 18 Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, 85-186; French's Louisiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 66; 1 Carroll's Historical Collection of South Carolina, 1836, XXI-LXVII; 4 Hakluyt, Goldsmid ed., 1889, 506; Fairbanks's History of Florida, 1871, 92-155; 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 263-283; Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 544-561, 562-583; W. Lowery's Spanish Settlements in the United States, 1905, 49-207, 120-141; G. R. Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of St. Augustine, 1881, 5-46.

a vessel sent with supplies, sailed for Cuba, and were wrecked on the Florida Keys, where they met at an Indian town the mutineers who had deserted from the fort at St. Matteo" and been wrecked there. This San Matteo was a place not far from Saint Augustine where the French Fort Carolina had been, and Menendez had established a fort soon after the conquest of the French and from which some of the garrison had deserted while he was absent in Cuba. Again famine at Saint Augustine caused Menendez to go for supplies to Cuba. At this time aid arrived from Spain. "The following year was principally occupied by Menendez in strengthening his fortfications at his three forts, in visiting the Indian chiefs at their towns, and exploring the country. One of his expeditions went as far north as the thirty-seventh degree of latitude by sea, and another went to the foot of the Appalachian Mountains, about one hundred and fifty leagues, and established a fort. The former was about the mouth of the Chesapeake, called Santa Maria, and the land expedition, probably to the up-country of Georgia in the neighborhood of Rome." According to distance given from St. Augustine this fort at the foot of the Appalachians was in North Carolina, possibly Pardo's. Then he went to Spain. It was while the commander of these Florida settlements was thus absent in Spain and they were suffering from the righteous hostility of the Indians and the results of their own idleness and worthlessness and mutinous practices that a French pirate and slaver, in command of three vessels, under the guise of friendship and with the assistance of numerous Indians, slipped by the forts, captured the old Fort Caroline (San Matteo) massacred its inhabitants, and thereby became a Protestant hero. In Mexico, Peru and elsewhere the Spanish white men had conquered the aborigines by enlisting one tribe, or several tribes, of Indians against another tribe. Now the Indians, in pursuance of the same policy, were conquering Spanish white men by enlisting other white men aganist them and practising the treachery by which whites had triumphed over Indians elsewhere.[2] The Pope thanked Menendez "for the zeal and loyalty he had exhibited, and his labors in car-

[2]G. R. Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 46-56; Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World, 1899, 158-181.

rying the faith to the Indians" and King Philip of Spain commended him for "the retribution you have visited upon the Lutheran pirates who sought to occupy that country, and to fortify themselves there, in order to disseminate in it their wicked creed, and to prosecute their wrongs and robberies, which they have done and were doing against God's service and my own."[3]

Menendez returned with supplies from Spain to his colony in Florida and then went to Cuba of which he had been appointed governor. The next year he sent one hundred and ninety-three people to San Felipe and eighty to Saint Augustine. He died in Spain at Santander, September 17, 1754. King Philip II., of Spain was then fitting out his celebrated Great Armada to attack England. Menendez was appointed to the command of this ill-fated armament, but died before it started when he was fifty-five years of age.[4] Pedro Menendez Marquez, nephew of Pedro Menendez de Aviles, had been acting as governor of Florida. The Indians had become more hostile, San Felipe had been attacked and abandoned and burned and then Pedro Menendez Marquez was killed.[5] To the memory of Pedro Menendez de Aviles was erected in the Church of San Nicolas at Aviles a splendid monument with the inscription: "Here lies buried the illustrious cavalier Pedro Menendez de Aviles, a native of this city, Adelantado of the provinces of Florida, Knight Commander of Santa Cruz of the Order of Santiago, and Captain-General of the Oceanic Seas and of the Armada which his royal highness collected at Santander in the year 1574, where he died on the 17th of September of that year in the 55th year of his age.[6]

In 1566 the elder Menendez established a Spanish fort at Port Royal or Santa Elena (Saint Helena) Bay, now in South Carolina and named it San Felipe.[7] San Felipe was on Port Royal Island,[8] or Orista Island.[9] In charge of this

[3]Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 56, 50.
[4]Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World, 1899, 179-180; Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 57; 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 281-283.
[5]2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 283.
[6]G. R. Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 57. On Pedro Menendez de Aviles see "Pedro Menendez de Aviles," by Gonzalo Solis de Meros, J. T. Connor translation, 1923.
[7]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 195, 196, 25, 29; 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 278.
[8]Rivers's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 25 note.
[9]Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 49.

fort was Captain Juan Pardo under Stephen de las Alas.[10] With a number of his soldiers Captain Juan Pardo set out in November of that year to explore the interior country from San Felipe. He was accompanied by the chief of the Joara (Suara, Sauli, Sara, or Cheraw) Indians then residing in North Carolina among the foothills of the Blue Ridge and near the sources of Broad and Catawba Rivers. This expedition proceeded up the country one hundred and twenty leagues, passing Cofitachiqui, until it came to the land of the Saras, the country of Xualla, where DeSoto, reaching his farthest point north, turned west. In this land of the Saras, near the present Lincolnton, North Carolina, Pardo built a fort.[11] He had intended to enter the mountains; but, deterred by the quantity of snow there, he returned to San Felipe, leaving the fort among the Saras in charge of a sergeant and thirty soldiers.[12] This was the first white settlement in North Carolina. It was made by Spaniards in 1566 at some place between the Blue Ridge and Lincolnton, nearly a quarter of a century before the first English colonists sent by Sir Walter Raleigh attempted a settlement on Roanoke Island. Not long after Pardo returned to San Felipe he received from the sergeant whom he had left among the Saras a letter stating that the Chief of Chisca, (the place where DeSoto heard that the Indians melted copper and gold)[13] was inimical to Spaniards, and that this sergeant, with fifteen men and without loss, had, in a recent battle with that chief, killed a thousand Indians and burned fifty houses and then marched with twenty men a day's journey into the mountains against another Indian chief, whom he found protected by strong palisades which he stormed and burned, and killed fifteen hundred of these Indians, without losing a man. Under orders received from Captain Pardo, this invincible sergeant went, with a small force, on a tour of exploration. Taking a road which he was told led to the country of a great chief, this sergeant whose name is said to have been Boyano, proceeded from his fort among the Saras, said to

[10]2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 278-279; B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 230.
[11]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 27, 28, 202. See W. Lowery's Spanish Settlements in the United States, 1905, 244-247, 284-296.
[12]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 27.
[13]2 French's Historical Collections of Louisiana, 1850, 149.

have been named Fort San Juan, one hundred and forty leagues, in a four days of hard marching to Chiaha, a town strongly fortified and palisaded with a deep river on each side and defended by over three thousand fighting men, without women or children. This was the place where DeSoto had rested thirty days and from which he had sent two Spaniards and some Indians to find Chisca."[14] At Chiaha the sergeant and his force were kindly received. From it the Spaniards marched through the territory of the same tribe twelve days to the chief town where, by invitation, they built a fort. To that place Pardo came from San Felipe, with a large force, in the summer of 1567 and was welcomed.[15] Captain Juan Pardo had set out in the summer of 1567 from San Felipe, with a small body of troops and travelled for a week, sleeping at a different town of the natives every night, until he came to "Canos, which the Indians call Canosi, and by another name, Cofetacque," a large city in a favorable location fifty leagues from Saint Helena and reached from the latter place most easily by the river which flowed by the city or by another river which they passed ten leagues before their arrival. This city was the Cofitachiqui of the DeSoto narratives and the river that flowed by was the Savannah while the other river mentioned was the Cooswhatchie or Broad River that empties at Port Royal. Then Pardo passed Jagaya, Gueza, and Arauchi, native places and came to Otariyatiqui or Otari. The last was a Cherokee town whose "chief and language ruled much good country" and from which a trail ran northward to Guatari, Sauxpa and Usi, (probably the Wateree), Waxhaw and Ushury (Catawba). From Otaryatiqui Pardo proceeded to Quinahaqui and thence, turning to the left, to Issa where he found mines of crystal, then to Agariaquiri and after to Joara, "near the mountain, where Juan Pardo arrived with his sergeant on his first trip" and where he built the fort among the Saras (Fort San Juan). Leaving the Joara country, they passed "along the mountains" to Tocox (may be Toxaway), Cauchi (Chattahoochee), and Tanasqui (Tanase, Tennessee), where they rested three days, and to "Solameco, otherwise called Chiaha," where

[14]2 French's Historical Collections of Louisiana, 1850, 147-150.
[15]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 27-28.

they found the sergeant and his men. These united troops went to Cossa, Tasquiqui (Tuskeegee), and other towns as far as Tascaluza, in the Alabama country and then returned to San Felipe. Apparently they had no trouble with the natives at any place which they visited.[16]

While Stephen de las Alas was in command at San Felipe most of his soldiers engaged in a mutiny, put him in irons, and sailed away.[17] "John Pardo, borne in Cuenca, went by Land from Florida to new Spaine in less than two yeares, and it is the nearest Europe of any part of the Indies, & from the bay of S. Joseph, which is eightie leagues from Panuco."[18]

"Father Rogel then began missions among the Indians around Port Royal; Father Sedeno and Brother Baez began similar labors on Guale (now Amelia) Island, the latter soon compiling a grammar and catechism in the language of the Indians. Others attempted to bring the intractable chief Corlos and his tribe within the Christian fold. Rogel drew Indians to his mission at Orista; he put up houses and a church, and endeavored to induce them to cultivate the ground. But their natural fickleness would not submit to control; they soon abandoned the place, and the missionary returned to Fort San Felipe. A school for Indian boys was opened in Havana, and youths from the tribes of the coast were sent there in the hope of making them the nucleus of an Indian civilization. In 1570 Menendez carrying out his project of occupying Chesapeake Bay, sent Father Segura with several other Jesuits to establish a mission at Axacan, the country of the Indian known as Don Luis Velasco, who accompanied the missionaries, promising to do all in his power to secure for them a welcome from his tribe. The vessel evidently ascended the Potomac and landed the mission party who then crossed to the shores of the Rappahannock. They were received with seeming friendship, and erected a rude chapel."[19] Of this Indian it is said that Spanish navigators, perhaps with some Dominican monks, had visited the Chesapeake region in 1559-1560 and taken this boy to Mexico where Don Luis Velasco, the Viceroy gave

[16]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902.
[17]2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 278-279.
[18]Antonio de Herrara, 14 Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1900, 460.
[19]2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 282.

him his name and had him baptized. "In 1566, while in Havana Don Luis, the Indian, accompanied a party of 30 Spanish soldiers under a captain and two Dominicans, to his home country, where it was planned to establish a mission; but the venture proving a failure, the monks and the Indian sailed for Spain." Treated there with great kindness, the Indian returned to Havana and went in the party sent by Menendez to found a mission on the Chesapeake Bay in 1570 where Don Luis was interpreter. He betrayed these missionaries and helped to kill them.[20]

Menendez came back to Florida and, in 1572, went to the Chesapeake Bay, seized eight suspected Indians and hanged them, but could not catch Don Luis Velasco or his brother.[21] Then "till 1574, the Spaniards maintained possession of Florida, as far north as the Chesapeake Bay, under Mendez, who had been appointed at first Adelantado of Florida, and subsequently also Governor of Cuba. He caused an elaborate and official survey of the whole coast to be made and recorded, both in writing and in charts. Barcia tells the whole interesting story, but the charts seem to have been lost, though the description, or parts of it remains,"[22]

The people of the Amadas and Barlow expedition sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh to investigate the eastern shores of North Carolina heard from the Indians there a story of a ship being wrecked there about 1564 and of another ship wrecked about four days' journey to the southwest of Roanoke Island some time not far from 1558, part of whose white crew escaped and spent about three weeks, of which time they stayed ten days on an island called Wocokon, and then put to sea in two boats fastened together, and possibly perished.[23] These were most probably men from some of the expeditions of Menendez de Aviles in that region. They may have been of the party of Don Angel de Villafane, which on June 14, 1561, according to one writer, encountered a storm at Cape Hatteras which caused him to

[20]2 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 880, 300.
[21]Ibid.; French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 230; 9 Columbia Cyclopaedia, 1897, "Menendez de Aviles"; 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 282; Fairbanks's History of Florida, 1871, 156-157; C. Campbell's History of Virginia, 1860, 18-19; Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 56-57; Brinton's Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, 1859, 154-155.
[22]Henry Stevens of Vermont's Thomas Hariot and His Associates, 1900, 33.
[23]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 287, 290-291.

abandon his expedition. [23a] It may be that Sir Walter Raleigh had been informed that Spaniards had visited Chesapeake Bay and attempted to found a mission there in what they called Santa Maria. William Strachey was a settler at Jamestown as early as 1610; and he wrote in his Historie of Travaile into Virginia, Britannia, "Within the Chesopoke Bay six leagues which Bay the Spaniards in their cartes call Santa Maria."[24] Raleigh certainly knew from some source of the Chesapeake Bay, for he directed his last colony to settle on it. Not improbably the Indian Mosco who "had a thicke blacke bush beard," supposed to be "some *French* mans sonne," found by Captain John Smith and his company on the river that "some call *Rapahanock*" in Virginia in 1608,[25] was a descendant of one of the Spaniards who about 1570 had settled on that same Rappahannock River.[26] Soon after Pardo's explorations into the interior from San Felipe (Port Royal) the Indians attacked that fort and burned it after the garrison had fled.

[23a] 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 269.
[24] Major's edition, 1849, 4, and margin.
[25] 2 Arber's Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, 1910, 424.
[26] 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 282.

CHAPTER IV

SPANISH CLAIM, CONTINUED

How long the Spaniards continued to visit and operate in that part of what they called Florida which embraces what is now Western North Carolina is not known. The country was certainly not abandoned by them at an early day. "Very recently remains of an early white settlement, traditionally ascribed to the Spaniards, have been reported from Lincolnton, North Carolina, on the edge of the ancient country of the Sara, among whom the Spaniards built a fort in 1566. The works include a dam of cut stone, a series of pillars of cut stone, arranged in squares as though intended for foundations, a stone-walled well; a quarry from which the stone had been procured, and a series of sinks extending along the stream, in which were found remains of timbers suggesting the subterraneous cabins on Duke's Creek. All these antedated the first settlement of that region, about the year 1750. Ancient mining indications are also reported from King's mountain, about twenty miles distant. (Reinhardt Ms, 1900, in Bureau of American Ethnology archives). The Spanish miners of whom Lederer heard in 1670 and Moore in 1690 were probably at work in this neighborhood."[27]

"It would probably be found, however, if the records could be searched, that DeSoto was not the only Spanish leader who explored the country in search of gold in the early days of the colonization period. It was the jealous policy of the Spanish government to keep the knowledge of such expeditions a secret; but from the vivid traditions still retained by the Cherokee of North Carolina, as recounted to the author, it is evident that the Spaniards made many expeditions into the mountains and carried on mining operations in different places during the period of their occupancy of Florida and the adjacent coast of Georgia and South Carolina."[28] There is a general similarity in the ac-

[27]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 202. See J. E. Alexander's Transatlantic Sketches, v. 2, 1833, pp. 115-118.
[28]Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 57-58.

counts of the direction and remoteness of the mines from Florida. "The coast tribes north of the St. John's river had pieces of *sieroa pira*, red metal, which was tested by a goldsmith who accompanied Laudonniere and found to be pure gold. When asked where this was obtained they pointed to the north. Another chief who gave them slips of silver said it came from a country at the foot of lofty mountains ten long days journey inland, towards the north. A third had small grains of gold, silver, and copper, procured, according to his own account, by washing the sands of a creek that flowed at the base of lofty mountains five or six days' journey in a northwesterly direction. The artist, Le Moyne de Morgues drawing somewhat on his imagination, represents in his forty-first sketch this method of cleaning it. Hence on some maps of a very early period the southern Alleghanies bear the name *Apalatcy Montes Auriferi.* Years afterwards, rumors derived from the Indians were rife among the Spanish colonists of a very rich and exceeding great city, called La Grand Copal, among the mountains of Gold and Chrystal, fifteen or twenty days' journey northwest of St. Augustine,"[80]

In Judocus Hondy's edition of "Historia Mundi or Mercator's Atlas," (1635), a map of "Virginia et Florida" notes "Apalacci Montes ubi auri et argentum inventur," page 899. (See 14 Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, between pages 464 and 465). And in J. Jansson's Atlas (1666) the Appalachian Montes are laid down as "Apalatcy Montes ubi Auriferi" and "Apalatcy montes in quibus aes aurum et argentum invenitur" and at a lake among them it is entered, "In hoc Lacu indigenae argenti grana inveniunt," Map of Southern part of Virginia, etc.[81] Other remains of Spanish mining operations have been found in the western parts of North Carolina at places not distant therefrom. Some of these are in the North Carolina counties of Macon and Cherokee and in northern portions of Georgia adjacent.

"As the existence of precious metals in the southern Alleghenies was known to the Spaniards from a very early

[80]D. G. Brinton's Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, 1859, 200-201.
[81]See map opposite page 589 of Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, prepared from data of J. E. Moyne; Lemoyne Map, 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 274.

period, it is probable that more thorough exploration of that region will bring to light many evidences of their mining operations. In his 'Antiquities of the Southern Indians,' Jones describes a sort of subterranean village discovered in 1834 on Duke's creek, White county, Georgia, consisting of a row of small log cabins extending along the creek, but imbedded several feet below the surface of the ground, upon which large trees were growing, the inference being that the houses had been thus covered by successive freshets. The logs had been notched and shaped apparently with some sharp metallic tools."[30] There were thirty-four of these cabins and the trees growing above them were more than two hundred years old, while the situation of the houses was such as to expose them to be covered by deposits made by the mountain stream which ran through the valley in which they had been constructed.[31]

"In Valley-River Valley, the writer is informed, eleven old shafts have been found, varying in depth from ninety to one hundred feet. In 1854, one of them was cleaned out, and at the depth of ninety feet the workmen found a windlas of post-oak, well hewn, with an inch augur-holes bored through each end. Distinct traces appeared where it had been banded with iron. The crank and gudgeon holes were still in excellent preservation. Another shaft, for twenty-five feet, passed through gneiss-rock. Its sides were scarred by marks of the sharp tools used in forcing a passage through this hard substance. There were no signs of blasting. Below the water level the casingboards and timbers were sound, although discolored by the sulphurets of copper and iron.

"Six miles southeast of this locality are five other shafts similar in age and construction, the trees growing in the mouths and upon the edges of these abandoned pits were not less than two hundred years old.

"The presence of iron and the marks of sharp metallic tools prove that these ancient mining operations cannot be referred to the labors of the Indians. The narratives of the career of DeSoto are filled with accounts furnished by the

[30]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 202; Jones's Antiquities of the Southern Indians, 1875, 48; 1 C. C. Jones's History of Georgia, 1883, 58; G. White's Historical Collections of Georgia, 1854, 487-488.
[31]Stephenson's Geology and Mineralogy of Georgia, 1871, 208.

natives of the presence of gold in certain designated localities, and their exaggerated statements continually inflamed the cupidity of the adventurers who accompanied the Adelantado in his wild march from Puerto del Espiritu Santo to the broad prairies beyond the Mississippi. In plate XLI. of the 'Brevis Narratio' DeBry presents an extravagant and evidently imaginary illustration of the manner in which the natives gathered gold in the streams issuing from the Apalatchy Mountains."[35]

"In the countries west of the Blue Ridge, there has been as yet no exploration to any depth beneath the surface of the ground, with perhaps the single exception of the old excavations in the county of Cherokee. According to the most commonly received Indian tradition they were executed more than a century ago by a company of Spaniards from Florida. They are said to have worked there for two or three summers, to have obtained a white metal, and prospered greatly in their mining operations, until the Cherokees, finding that if it became generally known that there were valuable mines in their country, the cupidity of the white men would expel them from it, determined in solemn council to destroy the whole party, and that in obedience to that decree no one of the adventurous strangers was allowed to return to the country whence they came. Though this story accords very well with the Indian laws which condemned to death those who disclosed the existence of mines to white men, yet I do not regard it as entitled to much credit. At the only one of these localities which I have examined, besides some other favorable indications, there is on the surface of the ground in great abundance that red oxide of iron, which from its being found in Germany above the most abundant deposits of the ores of lead and silver, has been called by the Germans the *Iron Hat*. Also something resembling that iron ore rich in silver, which the Spaniards call pacos, is observable there. It seems more probable, therefore, that some of these companies of enterprising Spaniards, that a century or two since were traversing the continent in search of gold and silver mines, struck by these appearances, sunk the shafts

[35]C. C. Jones's Antiquities of the Southern Indians, 48-49; Stephenson's Geology and Mineralogy of Georgia, 1871, 208-209.

in question and soon abandoned them as unproductive. But which of these is the more probable conjecture, cannot perhaps be determined, until some one shall be found adventurous enough to re-open those old shafts."[36] "Similar ancient shafts have been found in other places in upper Georgia and western North Carolina, together with some remarkable stone-built fortifications or corrals, notably at Fort mountain, in Murray County, Georgia, and on Silver creek, a few miles from Rome, Georgia."[37]

"A tradition of an ancient silver mine that was once known and worked on Coronaka Creek in the present District of Abbeville still lingers among the people who live around the old Rock Church.***Many years ago, when the whole up-country was yet covered with its primitive forest, and scarcely known even to English adventurers, a party of enterprising Spaniards penetrated, in their search for gold and silver, into the territory now embraced in this district, and on a spot somewhere near the present site of the Old Rock Church, observing signs of one of the precious metals, applied their pick-axes, and brought to light a promising vein of silver ore. Fixing themselves permanently, they, in a short time, laid open a mine, whose wealth surpassed belief.

"Such was their avidity, however, says the tradition, that they wholly neglected to procure for themselves the necessary means of subsistence — finding it more convenient to obtain them by force from the neighboring Indians, whose corn patches lay in the fertile valleys of the Coronaka. This, the generous Cherokees endured for a time; but on its being frequently repeated, they became exasperated, and attacking the Spaniards in their excavation, massacred the whole party, except two, who escaped and fled towards North Carolina. The Indians then threw the entire mass of the accursed metal they had raised and melted, back into the mine, and so completely restored the spot to its primitive aspect, that no vigilance or skill of civilized men has since availed to recover the lost treasure."[38]

[36]Lanman's Letters from the Alleghany Mountains, 1849, letter from T. L. Clingman to Editor of the Highland Messenger, not dated; Speeches and Writings of T. L. Clingman, 1877, 118.

[37]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 202. As to South Carolina see Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 140-143.

[38]Logan's Upper South Carolina, 1859, 140-141.

A persistent tradition of a silver mine once known to exist in the vicinity of Warm Springs, now Hot Springs, in Madison County, North Carolina, on French Broad River, is still current without verification or location.

The Yardly expedition into North Carolina from Virginia in 1653 learned from the Tuscarora chief that there was a Spaniard living in his chief town who had been there seven years and was rich and owned negroes and would go, or send one of his negroes, away for an absence for "a pretty while." They also learned that among the Indians in that country. "There is another great nation by these called the Haynokes, who valiantly resist the Spaniard's further northern attempts,"[39] and who were the Enos,[40] and the Tuscaroras had gold and copper plates.[41]

In his account of the journey which he made in North Carolina in 1670, John Lederer says: "Here I made a days stay, to inform myself further in these countries; and understood both from the Ushuries, and some Sara Indians that came to trade with them, that two-days journey and a half from hence to the southwest, a powerful nation of bearded men were seated, which, I suppose to be the Spaniards, because the Indians never have any, it being an universal custom among them to prevent their growth by plucking the young hair out by the roots. Westward lies a government inhospitable to strangers; and to the north, over the Suala-mountains, lay the Rickohockans. I thought it not safe to venture myself among the Spaniards, lest taking me for a spy, they would either make me away, or condemn me to a perpetual slavery in their mines."[42] "But what neede I to stand vpon forren testimonies," wrote Richard Hakluyt in 1609, "since Master Thomas Heriot, a man of much iudgement in these causes, signified vnto you all, at your late solemne meeting at the house of the right honourable the Earle of Exeter, how to the Southwest of our old fort in Virginia, the Indians often informed him, that there was a great melting of red metall, reporting the manner in

[39]2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 19; Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 58.
[40]Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 58.
[41]2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 19.
[42]Alvord and Bidgood's First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 161; 2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 50; The Discoveries of John Lederer, 1902, 21-22.

working of the same. Besides, our Owne Indians have lately reuealed either this or another rich mine of copper or gold in a towne called Ritanoe, neere certaine mountains lying West of Roanoac."[42]

"The first permanent English settlement in South Carolina was established in 1670. In 1690 James Moore, secretary of the colony, made an exploring expedition into the mountains and reached a point at which, according to his Indian guides, he was within twenty miles of where the Spaniards were engaged in mining and smelting with bellows and furnaces, but on account of some misunderstanding he returned without visiting the place, although he procured specimens of ores, which he sent to England for assay. It may have been in the neighborhood of the present Lincolnton, North Carolina, where a dam of cut stone and other remains of former civilized occupancy have recently been discovered. In this year also, Cornelius Dougherty, an Irishman from Virginia, established himself as the first trader among the Cherokee, with whom he spent the rest of his life. Some of his descendants still occupy honored positions in the tribe."[44] After Moore was unable to reach the Spanish mines because of this difficulty with his guides, he volunteered to lead a party to these mines, but was not successful in this scheme.[45] Moore says: "I made a journey in 1690 over the Apalathean Mountains and took up seven sorts of ore or mineral stones, all differing either in weight, colour, smell, or some other qualities. By my friend, Col. Maurice Matthews, I had these tried in England. He sent word two were very good and one indifferent. On the same journey I was informed that the Spaniards had been at work within twenty miles of me. The natives described me their bellows and furnaces and said they killed the Spaniards for fear they should make slaves of them to work in the mines as they had other Indians. The places where I took up the ores are much neared Ashley river than any place now inhabited by the Spaniards or French."[46] It has ever since been believed by people ac-

[42] 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 540-541.
[44] Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 31; 1 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1857, 208-209.
[45] C. C. Jones's Antiquities of the Southern Indians, 1875, 51.
[46] S. C. Williams's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, 93.

quainted with the country of the old Cherokees that this country contained much gold, silver, copper and gems."[47] Quantities of all have been found there; but as yet scarcely enough gold, silver and gems have been unearthed to fulfill the expectations which, from numerous Indian traditions, the Spaniards entertained and from rumors of Spanish discoveries there other nations believed that those discoverers, acquainted from early life with the ancient mining developments of Spain itself, had accomplished."[48]

The Spaniards are thus shown to have been in Western North Carolina, engaged much of their time in mining, for more than one hundred and twenty-five years from 1566 and probably 1540, when DeSoto found indications of gold at Xualla near the heads of Broad and Catawba Rivers, to a time later than 1690 and little anterior, if anterior at all, to the advent of the English in that vicinity not later than 1750 and probably earlier. That this was not unknown to the British colonies appears from what has been said as well as from other matters, especially from numerous references to the presence of Spaniards there. Sir William Berkley, the Governor of Virginia, expressed in 1669, an expectation that he might find silver mines in that country, "for certaine it is that the Spaniard in the same degree of latitude has found many."[49] In fact, it had been even then known for many years that the Spaniards had been obtaining gold and silver which seemed to come from that region and had gotten these at places convenient to Western North Carolina. Of the Spanish fort at Saint Helena in South Carolina near Port Royal Hakluyt said: "In Florida the Spaniards have one town called Sancta Helena, where they have perles, silver, and great store of victualls. The Floridians be a gentle sorte of people, and used sometims to heade

[47]Adair's American Indians, 1775, 236-237; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 82; D. G. Brinton's Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, 1859, 200-201.

[48]As to mining in North Carolina reference may be profitably had to M. F. Stevenson's Geology and Mineralogy of Georgia, 1871, 207-209; Lanman's Letters from the Alleghany Mountains, 1849, 189-190; 2 D. B. Warden's United States, 1812, 389; 2 J. E. Alexander's Transatlantic Sketches, 1833, 115-118; Nitze and Wilkens's Gold-mining in North Carolina, North Carolina Geological Survey, Bulletin 10, 1897, 26-90; Emmons's North Carolina Geological Survey, 1856, 166; C. E. Rothe's Remarks in Silliman's American Journal of Science; E. Mitchell's Report on the Geology of North Carolina, November, 1827, 20; D. Olmsted's Report on the Geology of North Carolina, November, 1824, 34-39; Kerr's Geology of North Carolina, 1875, 283-284; United States Geological Survey, 1894-'95, Pt. 3, 251-320.

[49]Alvord and Bidgood's First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 161.

their arrowes with silver."[50] When John Ribault joined Rene Laudonniere in Florida he was introduced by the latter to five Indian "kings" there as the successor of Laudonniere. "Then they demanded and prayed him, if it might stand with his good pleasure, to cause the merchandise that hee had brought with him to be delivered to them, and that in fewe daies they would bring him to the mountaines of Apalatcy, whither they promised to conduct me, and that in case they performed not their promise, that they were content to be cut in pieces. In those mountaines, as they sayd, is found red copper, which they call in their language Sieroa Pira, which is as much as to say as red mettall, whereof I had a piece, which at the very instant I shewed to Captaine Ribault, which caused his gold-finer to make an assay thereof, which reported vnto him that it was perfect golde."[51] This Apalatcy was wholly or partly in the southwestern mountains of North Carolina. On Ribault's first voyage when he built a fort and formed a settlement at Port Royal in South Carolina some Indians of that vicinity described to Laudonniere a large inclosed city lying to the north whose people "made none account of gold, of siluer, nor of pearles, seeing they had thereof in abundance." That city Hakluyt thought to be "La grand Copal." He also says that Antonio de Herrera "speaking of the foresaid Riuer of Santa Helena, which standeth 32° and a halfe, alludeth to the province of Yupaha," and says "that the gold and siluer which they found was not of that countrie (of Santa Helena) but 60. leagues distant toward the North, of the townes called Otapales and Olagatanos, where we vnderstand that there are mines of gold, siluer and copper. By which reckoning these rich mines are in the latitude of 35° and an halfe."[52] Then Yupaha was in Western North Carolina and LaGrand Copal was almost certainly there.[53]

Pedro Morales, "a Spaniard, which sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustines in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, touching the state of those parts, taken from his mouth by Master Richard Hakluyt, 1586," says: "THree score leagues vp from the Northwest from

[50]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 212.
[51]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 513; 4 Idem, 245; 4 Arber's English Garner, 1909, 75.
[52]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 540, 589.
[53]Ibid., 533-536.

Saint Helena are the mountaines of the golde and Crystall mines, named Apalatci.***There is a great City sixteene or twentie dayes iourney from Saint Helena Northwestward, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, which they thinke to bee very rich and exceeding great, and haue bene within the sight of it, some of them.

"They haue offered in generall to the King to take no wages at all of him, if he will giue them leaue to discouer this citie, and the rich mountaines, and the passage to a sea or mighty Lake which they heare to be within foure and twenty dayes trauel from Saint Helena, which is in 32. degrees of latitude; and is that riuer which the French called Port-Royal.

"He saith also that he hath seene a rich Diamond which was brought from the mountains that lye vp in the countrey Westward from S. Helena. These hils seeme wholy to be the mountaines of Apalatci, whereof the Sauages aduertised Laudonniere, and it may bee they are the hils of Chaunis Temoatam which Master Lane had aduertisement of.

"The relation of Nicholas Burgoignon, alias Holy, whom sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustine also in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, in mine and Master Heriots hearing," who "affirmeth, that there is a citie Northwestward from S. Helenes in the mountaines which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, and is very great and rich, and that in these mountains there is great store of Chrystal, golde, and Rubies, and Diamonds; And that a Spaniard brought from thence a Diamond which was worth fiue thousand crownes, which Pedro Melendes the Marques nephew to old Pedro Melendes that slew Ribault, and is now gourenor of Florida, weareth. He saith also, that to make passage vnto these mountains, it is needefull to have store of Hatchets to giue vnto the Indians, and store of Pickaxes to breake the mountaines, which shine so bright in the day in some places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they trauell vnto them by night. Also corslets of Cotton, which the Spaniards call Zecopitz, are necessary to bee had against the arrowes of the Sauages.

"He sayth farther, that a Tunne of the sassafras of Florida is solde in Spaine for sixtie ducates; and that they haue there great store of Turkie cocks, of Beanes, of Peason, and that there are great store of pearles.

"The things, as he reporteth, that the Floridians make most account of, are red Cloth, or redde Cotton to make baudricks or gyrales: copper, and hatchets to cut withall.

"The Spaniards haue all demaunded leaue at their owne costs, to discouer these mountains, which the King denyeth, for feare lest the English or French would enter into the same action once knowen.

"All the Spaniards would passe vp by the riuer of Saint Helena vnto the mountaines of gold and Chrystall.

"The Spaniards entering 50. leagues vp Saint Helena found Indians wearing golde rings at their nostrels and eares. They found also Oxen, but lesse then ours.

"Sixe leagues from Saint Helena toward the North, there is a poynt that runneth farre into the sea, which is the marke to the Seamen to finde Saint Helena and Waterin.

"Waterin is a riuer fortie leagues distant Northward from Saint Helena, where any fleete of great ships may ride safely. I take this riuer to be that which we call Waren in Virginia, whither at Christmasse last 1585, the Spaniards sent a barke with fortie men to discouer where we were seated: in which barke was Nicholas Burgoignon the reporter of all these things."[54]

Pamfilo de Narvaez was told of a large amount of treasure to be had at Apalache, which must have been the mountains of that name.[55] It turned out that the supplies of gold were not in "the mountains of Apalatcy" of Western North Carolina, but were in the country directly east of those mountains and lying immediately north of the southern border of that State for a distance of about two hundred miles and embracing the counties of McDowell, Burke, Rutherford, Polk, Catawba, Lincoln, Iredell, Rowan, Cleveland, Gaston, Davidson, Cabarrus, Mecklenburg, and maybe a few more, the old Xualla land and adjoining territory, with some smaller quantities of gold in Georgia, at its northern part immediately south of those mountains and possibly in

[54] 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 533-536.
[55] Peter Heylyn's Cosmographie, 1657, 1032.

the regions of South Carolina, Alabama, and Tennessee nearby.

Mint returns of gold from North Carolina were made in 1793 and from South Carolina in 1829. That metal was found in Georgia between 1815 and 1820, in Alabama in 1830, in Tennessee in 1831. In Cabarrus County of North Carolina the Reed Mine the first mine in America worked for gold by people of English or any British ancestry, was found about 1797.[56] The gold obtained at the Reed Mine and mines in that vicinity "is of almost unequalled purity, being twenty-three carats fine; that is 23 parts out of 24 are pure Gold. The remainder is silver and copper." A few nuggets of large size have been found there, one of them weighing 28 pounds.[57] Some men named Bechtler, under permissions of an act of Congress, coined gold from western North Carolina and Georgia in denominations of one dollar, two and one-half dollars, and five dollars, at Rutherfordton, North Carolina, for several years, beginning about 1830. These coins are now curiosities and command high prices from collectors. In 1838 a mint was established at Dahlonega, Georgia. There was once a mint at Charlotte, North Carolina. From 1804 to 1827 about all the gold produced in the United States came from North Carolina and amounted in the aggregate to one hundred and ten thousand dollars worth. Mines for gold are still worked in the North Carolina counties of Cabarrus, Rowan, Burke, Rutherford, Polk, McDowell and some others. According to official estimates there was produced in the Southern Alleghany region from 1799 to 1898 more than forty-six millions of dollars worth of gold, of which twenty-one millions nine hundred and twenty-six thousand three hundred and seventy-six dollars came from North Carolina.[58] There is "a fact of considerable interest connected with the gold region" of North Carolina "that there is undoubted evidence of the mines having been worked by the Aborigines, or by foreigners, at an unknown date. Pieces of rude machinery have been found, and

[56]Emmons's North Carolina Geological Survey, 1856, 166; 2 J. E. Alexander's Transatlantic Sketches, 1833, 117; E. Mitchell's Report on the Geology of North Carolina, 1827, 39-40 note, 20; D. Olmsted's Report on the Geology of North Carolina, 1824, 34-39; Kerr's Geology of North Carolina, 283-294; 1 Southern Review, 1828, 251-255 and note; United States Geological Survey, Part 3, pp. 251-320, 254-258.

[57]D. Olmsted's Report on the Geology of North Carolina, 1824, 34-39.

[58]Emmons's North Carolina Geological Survey, 1856, 166.

crucibles, far superior to the best now made, and which are eagerly sought after by the present miners."[59] In regard to the discovery of gold in Georgia a reference may be had to Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 116, 26.

The Indians had learned of the cruelty of the Spaniards to the aborigines in the West Indies, Central America, Mexico, Peru, and Florida, a cruelty exceeded only in the treatment of the Indians in New England, and especially in Massachusetts, by the first British settlers in that region commonly called by their descendants and admirers, "Pilgrim Fathers," and "Puritans," as in the case of the Pequods about 1637 who in the canting phrases of a Puritan governor of Massachusetts named Winslow, "follow their fishing & planting as if they had no enemies. Their women of esteem & children are gone to Long Island with a strong guard of Pecoat. They professe there you shall finde them, and as they were there borne & bred, there their bones shall be buried & rott in despight of the English. But if the Lord be on our side, their braggs will soon fail." These Puritans invaded the land of the Pequods, made war on them, killed many of them, made slaves of many and branded them on the shoulder, sent children to Bermuda and others of the Indians to West Indes as slaves to be exchanged for rum and negro slaves so that "if upon a Just warre the Lord should deliuer them into our hands we might easily have men, woemen and children enough to exchange for Moores, which wilbe more gayneful pilladge." Cotton Mather, the leading Puritan preacher, witch-killer, and author concluded, "We know not When or Howe these Indians first became Inhabitants of this Mighty Continent, yet we may guess that probably the Devil decoy'd these miserable Salvages hither, in hopes that the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his *Absolute Empire* over them." In order that these Saints might experience "ye Lords greate mercies toward us, in our prevailing against his & our enimies," when they could not catch the Indians they set fire to the woods in

[59]2 J. E. Alexander's Transatlantic Sketches, 1833, 115-118.

order that all the "enimies" of the Lord, men, women, youths and babies might be burned.[60]

Although Spanish cruelty toward the Indians was not equal in malevolence and brutality to the cruelty displayed by the Puritans toward the American aborigines, it was so great and infamous that the Indians generally justly came to regard the Spaniard as an implacable foe and unprincipled fanatical persecutor and an invader and robber who knew no mercy, kept no faith and worshipped a devil for a deity. Saint Augustine settlers severely felt the force of this Indian sentiment. Many of the neighboring tribes were openly hostile and active in their hostility.[61] But Spanish success had aroused European envy and Spanish arrogance had produced national enmity. French and English pirates, without active intervention of their governments openly preyed upon Spanish commerce, especially commerce between Spain and her American dependencies. Such conduct had led to an open war between Spain and England. The most distinguished English mariner of that day was Sir Francis Drake. In 1586 Drake was on a cruise against the Spaniards in the western waters, attacked Saint Augustine and, after the inhabitants fled, burned the place.[62] After Drake's departure the Spaniards returned and rebuilt the place.[63] Troubles with the Indians continued to give the Spaniards at Saint Augustine much annoyance. In 1638 the Spaniards subdued the Appalachian Indians on Suwanee River. Captain Davis, an English pirate sacked Saint Augustine in 1665.[64] In 1670 the English made a settlement in the vicinity of the present Charleston, South Carolina.[65] This was clearly within the territory which the Spaniards had long claimed under the name of Florida. Peace had been made between Spain and England in 1667, but the Spaniards of Florida were unwilling to have an English colony on territory which had so long been regarded as belonging to

[60]George H. Moore's Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts, 1866, 1-8, 9-10, 30-36, 40-44, 45, 48; Washington Irving's Sketch Book, Philip of Pokanoket, Traits of Indian Character.

[61]G. R. Fairbanks's History of Florida, 1871, 156; G. R. Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 51, 54-55.

[62]Fairbanks's History of Florida, 1871, 159-161; Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 58-60.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 64-65.

[65]E. McCrady's History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1897, 126-130.

Spain and sent out an expedition from Saint Augustine to destroy this English settlement. Finding the English in considerable force and on their guard the Spanish expedition did not attack, but went back to Saint Augustine.[66] In 1682 some Scotchmen procured from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina a grant for thirty-six thousand acres of land in the neighborhood of Port Royal, South Carolina, and sent a colony under Henry Lord Cardross to settle the country so granted to them. There could be no question that, long before, the Spaniards had made settlements in that region. Cardross arrived in 1683. In 1686 the forces of the Florida Spaniards, consisting of three galleys, one hundred white men and a number of Indians and negroes, attacked the colony at Port Royal, "killed some, took others captive, whom they whipped in a barbarous manner, and plundered and utterly destroyed the settlement." The English colonists wished to avenge this but were prevented by their authorities who adjusted the matter with the Spanish governor at Saint Augustine.[67]

In 1702 war began between the European nations of Austria, some of the German States, Great Britain, Holland, Denmark, on one side, and France, Spain, Bavaria and Cologne, on the other hand. It really was in open preparation in 1701. It ended in the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt in 1713-1714. The common name of this struggle is War of the Spanish Succession.[68] In American history the name applied to an extension of this war in America is Queen Anne's War.[69] "The contest opened in 1702 with an unsuccessful expedition from South Carolina against the Spanish."[70] The people of the Charleston settlement chafed under the indignity to which their authorities had forced them to submit when the Spanish from Florida destroyed the settlement of the Scots at Port Royal; and subsequent jealousies and recriminations between those two Southern colonies had done nothing to allay these feelings of antagonism, especially in regard to relations with Indians. In fact, it appears "that in 1702, before Queen Anne's declaration of

[66]Ibid., Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 66-67.
[67]E. McCrady's History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1897, 195-222.
[68]25 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th edition, 599-608.
[69]10 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 142-144.
[70]Ibid.

war was known in the province, the Spaniards had formed the design again to fall upon the Carolina settlement by land at the head of 900 Apalatchee Indians. The Creek Indians, in friendship with the Carolinians, coming to a knowledge as to this intended invasion, informed the traders, but not before the Spaniards' expedition was on its march. The Carolina traders, instead of retreating, however, roused the Creeks to resistance and, collecting 500 men, headed them, and went out to meet the invaders. The hostile parties met one evening on the side of Flint River, a branch of the Chattahoochee, in Georgia. In the morning just before daybreak, at an hour when Indians were accustomed to make their attacks, the Creeks, stirring up their fires, drew back at a little distance, leaving their blankets by the fires in the order in which they had slept. As was expected, the Spaniards and Apalatcheans, coming to the attack, ran in and fired upon the blankets, whereupon the Creeks, rushing forth from their retreat, fell on them, killed, and took the greater part, entirely routing them. It was upon this provocation and renewed invasion by the Spaniards, that it was deemed best to take the offensive and to endeavor, if possible, to wipe out this constant source of menace and danger to the province.'"[71] This attempt they could now make with impunity because there was a war in process between the English and the Spanish. Accordingly an expedition set out from Charleston against Saint Augustine in 1702, the land forces proceeding under Colonel Robert Daniel while the remainder of the forces went by sea under Governor James Moore. The people of Saint Augustine, learning of the expedition, prepared to meet it and sent to Havana for assistance. On the part of the Carolinians there was insufficient preparation, lack of co-operation, injudicious management, and want of enterprise. After some successes the besiegers were unable to take the castle and returned to Charleston. The failure was signal and discreditable to the attacking commanders."[72]

The Yamasee Indians in South Carolina had removed to the neighborhood of Port Royal from the vicinity of the

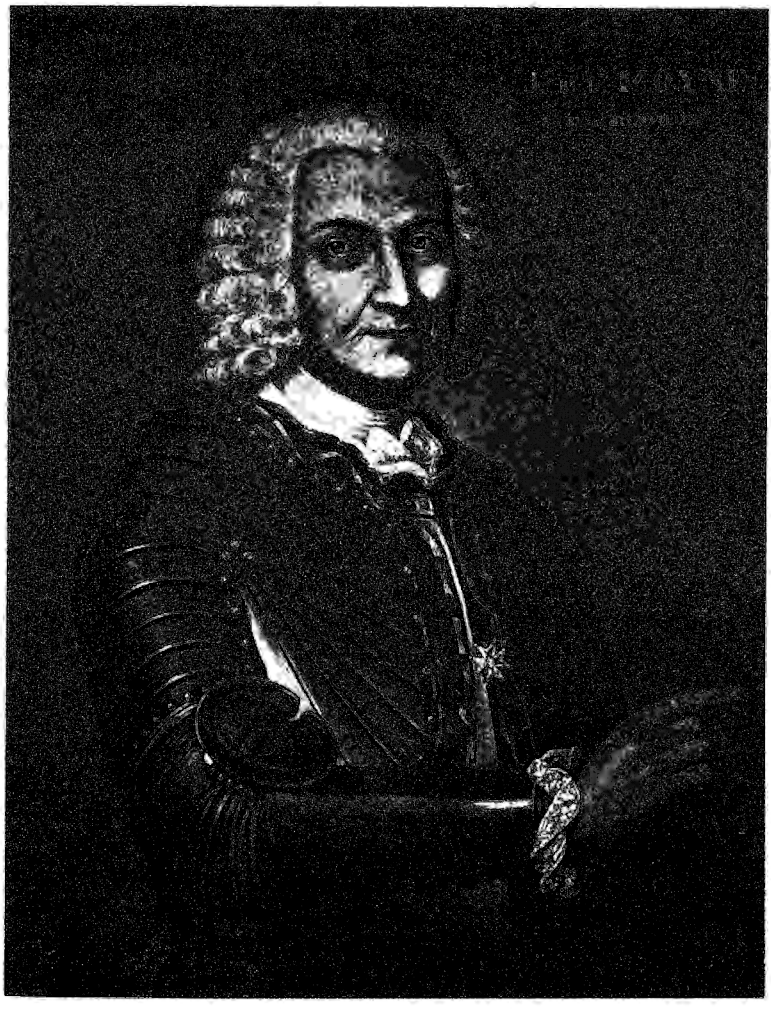
[71] E. McCrady's History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1897, 379-380; 2 B. R. Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 350-352.

[72] Ibid., 381-384 of the former authority, 350-352 of the latter.

Spaniards whom they had deserted on account of wrongs and seemed to greatly hate. During Queen Anne's War these Indians were allies of the Carolinians and made repeated inroads against Saint Augustine's people. The Carolinians were confident of the friendship of the Yamasees who had just cause for complaint of many injuries done to them by their white allies. It began to be noticed that the chiefs of these Indians, however, were making frequent visits to Saint Augustine and always returning with numerous presents obtained there. Then it was learned that these people together with Creeks, Cherokees and many other Indian tribes had entered into a conspiracy with the Spaniards who told them that soon Spain would declare war against England.[73] "In the year 1715, the Indians adjoining to this colony, all round from the borders of Fort St. Augistino to Cape Fear, had formed a conspiracy to extirpate the white people. This war broke out the week before Easter.***The Yamosees gave the first stroke in this war, but were presently joined by the Appallachee Indians. On the north side of the province, the English had at first, some hopes in the faithfulness of the Calabaws and Creek Indians, but they soon after declared for the Yammosees."[74]

This uprising of the Indians appeared to have been planned and incited by the Spaniards in Florida with the Yamasees as chief emissaries among the aboriginal peoples. "For tho' those *Yamasees* had, during all Queen *Anne's* war, been the greatest Instruments in distressing and harassing them, killing and bringing away Numbers of them, insomuch that not a Man dared for along Time to go out of sight of the *Castle,* and destroying even the Cattle; yet on the very Day this War broke out, the *Yamasees* shewed so much Confidence in the *Spaniards* that they sent away their *Women* and *Children* in their own Boats by water to *Augustine.* And having ravaged the Country, killing many more and doing all the Mischief they could, so that all the *Southern* Parts were broke up, to about the Distance of *Twenty* Miles from *Charles-Town,* they themselves soon after retreated to *St. Augustine* also."[75]

[73] 2 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 353-354; McCrady's South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1897, 531-533.
[74] 2 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 548-549.
[75] 2 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 354.



JEAN BAPTISTE LE MOYNE BIENVILLE. THREE TIMES GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA AND FOUNDER OF NEW ORLEANS

Vigorous measures were adopted by the South Carolinians to suppress this outbreak. In one of these Governor Charles Craven collected 240 men, marched to a place near Combahee River within sixteen miles of the Yamasee town, and encamped for the night. Next morning he was attacked by 500 Yamasees whom he put to flight. The Indians met with other defeats, while killing many people and destroying much property and even endangering the existence of the colony. It was said that engaged in this Indian uprising were from 8,000 to 10,000 warriors. Still, through the prompt action of the South Carolina executive and his people it failed.[70] The Yamasees were driven into Florida. "There they were received, protected, and encouraged to make frequent Incursions from thence into the Settlements of this *Province*" (South Carolina); "and being oftentimes headed by *Spaniards*, they cut off several of the Settlers, and carried off their Slaves."[71] They were furnished with arms and ammunitions by the Spaniards for there raids.[72] At the conclusion of "Queen *Anne's* Peace" there was an agreement for either South Carolina or Saint Augustine to return fugitive slaves from the other and this was confirmed in 1725.

"In 1727, Peace between the *Crowns* continuing, fresh Depradations were committed on *this Province* from Augustine, both by Land and Water; which created the Expense of *Two* Expeditions to prevent the Progress of them. At that Time this Coast being infested by several *Spanish* Vessels, who stiling themselves *Guarda-Costas*, on Pretence of Searching, plundered and made Prizes of all the *English* Vessels they met with. A *Schooner* fitted out from *Augustine*, on the like Account, put into *North Edisto*, where the men made a Descent, and carried off the *Slaves* of *David Ferguson*, which were never return'd nor paid for. On this Occasion Captain *Mountjoy* was fitted out by *this Government*, who cleared the Coast of those *Pirates*, and retook a *Virginia Ship*. At the same Time a Party of *Yam-*

[70]W. J. Rivers's Sketch of the History of South Carolina, 1856, 259-267; 1 Hewatt's History of South Carolina and Georgia, 1779, 214-222; 1 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 188-199; McCrady's South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1897, 532-537; 1 D. Ramsay's History of South Carolina, 1809, 158-163.

[71]2 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 354.

[72]1 Hewatt's South Carolina and Georgia, 1779, 223; 1 D. Ramsay's South Carolina, 1809, 164.

esee Indians, headed by *Spaniards* from St. *Augustine*, having murdered our *Out-Scouts*, made an Incursion into our Settlements, within *Ten* Miles of Ponpon, where they cut off one Mr. *Micheau*, with another *White-man* on the same Plantation, and carried off a *Third* Prisoner, with all the *Slaves, Horses*, &c. But being briskly pursued by the Neighbours, who had Notice of it, they were overtaken, routed, and obliged to quit their *Booty*. The Government, judged it Necessary to chastise (at least) those Indians, commissioned Colonel *Palmer* for that Purpose instantly; who with about *One Hundred Whites*, and the like Number of our *Indians*, landed at St. *Juan's*, and having left a sufficient number to take Care of the Craft, *marched undiscovered* to the *Yamasee Town*, within a mile of *St. Augustine*. He attack'd *at once*, killed several of those *Indians*, took several Prisoners, and drove the Rest into the very Gates of *St. Augustine* Castle; where they were sheltered. And having *Destroyed their Town*, he returned.***In the latter End of 1737, *still Peace subsisting*, great Preparations were made to invade openly *this Province* and *Georgia*. For that Purpose a great Body of Men arrived at St. *Augustine*, in Galleys from the *Havana;* which put *this Province* to a very large Expense to provide against. But happily they were countermanded just as they were ready to set off. Meanwhile the King of Spain had, in November, 1733, issued an edict to entice negro slaves to run away from the English Colonies with promises of liberty and protection."[79]

On June 9, 1732, the royal charter was granted to certain persons for the creation from South Carolina territory of the province of Georgia. Under General James Oglethorpe some colonists for the settlement of that province arrived at Charlestown, South Carolina, January 13, 1733, and on Georgia soil, February 1, 1733, old style.[80] This brought English settlements nearer to Saint Augustine and further within the region claimed by the Spaniards than Charleston or even Port Royal. The Spanish *guarda-costas* still continued to seize English ships and their cargoes and to confiscate them and subject their crews to cruel mistreatment. "By the terms of the convention at Pardo, in

[79]2 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 355-357.
[80]1 C. C. Jones's History of Georgia, 1883, 87-116, 117-120.

January, 1739, Spain agreed to pay a sum of money by way of compensation for the losses sustained by British subjects. With regard to the territory in dispute between Florida and Georgia it was arranged that the governors of these respective provinces should allow matters to remain in *statu quo* until the boundaries were settled by commissioners to be named by both courts. This convention was unpopular in England. The neglect on the part of Spain to pay the stipulated sum at the appointed time furnished Walpole with a plausible pretext for declaring war. Admiral Vernon was appointed to the command of a formidable squadron in the West Indies, and Oglethorpe was ordered to annoy the Spanish settlements in Florida.'"[81]

Meanwhile Oglethorpe had put a garrison on the north bank of Saint John's River where that stream runs east and west, and called it Saint George's Fort. This brought a protest from the Spanish ambassador to England with a demand for the recall of Oglethorpe and a renewal of Spain's claim to all the territory south of 36° 50′ north latitude, a demand which included North and South Carolina and Georgia and westward therefrom. A Spanish commissioner from Saint Augustine demanded the evacuation by the English of all ports and towns south of Saint Helena. Then a party of Spaniards made an unsuccessful attack with some slaughter on Amelia Island and were pursued by Oglethorpe across Saint John's River to within one day's march of Saint Augustine and caused an attack to be made upon a Spanish fort on that stream at Picolata and another Spanish fort on that stream called Fort Saint Francis.[82]

Controversies between the British and the Spaniards in regard to commercial conflicts were added to those disputes in regard to North American territory and helped to bring about England's declaration of war against Spain in 1739, a war which soon became merged in the more extended war of 1740-1748.[83] This larger war is known as the War of the Austrian Succession and involved nearly all the countries of Europe until it ended in 1748 in the peace of Aix la Chapelle (Aachen); but its principal part in Europe was

[81]Ibid., 322.
[82]E. McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1899, 188-190.
[83]25 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th edition, 553.

the contest between Prussia under Frederick II. (called Frederick the Great) and Austria for Silesia.[84]

On January 1, 1740, Oglethorpe made an expedition up Saint John's River, surprised and burnt Fort Picolata and captured Fort Saint Francis de Papa.[85] He then planned the capture of Saint Augustine and expulsion of the Spaniards therefrom. With four hundred men of his own regiment and an Indian force of Creeks led by Molochi and Cherokees led by Raven and some others, on May 9, 1740, he returned to Florida and within a week recaptured Fort Saint Francis and reduced Fort Diego, twenty-five miles from Saint Augustine. On June 5, 1540, he was ready to attack Saint Augustine with a land army of more than two thousand regulars, militia, and Indians, to be aided by a naval force under Sir Yelverton Peyton when they received notice. The notice was given but the naval force did not appear. The Spaniards had moored six vessels inside the bar where they could not be reached by British fire and the water was too shallow to permit the British men-of-war to get to them while they were, at the same time, under protection of the guns of the Spanish fort. Some neglect of orders followed on the part of the besiegers with serious results to them. Oglethorpe became sick with a fever. Some of his troops behaved badly and many deserted. The siege was abandoned and the expedition failed.[86] Much controversy followed as to whether General Oglethorpe or his troops were to blame for the failure.

The Spaniards retaliated with an invasion of Georgia in a movement as badly managed as that of Oglethorpe against Saint Augustine and with results as discreditable to the Spanish as Oglethorpe's results had been to the English. The Spanish invasion ended in a farcical retreat.[87] Then Oglethorpe again invaded Florida with no results of importance.[88] "For the seventy-two years which had passed away since the settlement of South Carolina, there had

[84] Ibid., 39-45.
[85] 1 C. C. Jones's History of Georgia, 1883, 324-325.
[86] Ibid., 326-335; 1 D. Ramsay's South Carolina, 1809, 140-144; E. McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1899, 195-229; 2 Hewatt's History of South Carolina and Georgia, 1779, 67-83; 1 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 328-340.
[87] 1 D. Ramsay's South Carolina, 1809, 144-147; 1 C. C. Jones's History of Georgia, 1883, 341-361.
[88] 1 C. C. Jones's History of Georgia, 1883, 361.

been repeated reciprocal invasions of the contiguous spanish and british provinces. Though hostilities occasionally ceased, bickerings were always kept alive from the constant irritation of unneighborly, injurious, acts; till by the peace of Paris in 1763, the two Floridas were ceded by Spain to Great Britain."[89]

The French under Jacques Cartier, sent out by the French King Francis I., in 1535, passed up the Saint Lawrence River to a country there known to the Indians by the name of Hochelaga and founded the land of Montreal.[90] In 1608 Samuel de Champlain founded the city of Quebec, called by the Indians "Quebecio" as indicating a narrow place; and in 1613 he founded the city of Montreal (Mount Royal) on that river.[91] Then the French, having from time to time discovered the Great Lakes, Jean Nicolet discovered the upper Mississippi in 1639, and La Salle discovered the Ohio River in 1670-1671, Joliet and Marquette reached the Mississippi from the Great Lakes in 1673, and LaSalle passed down that river to its mouth in 1682, taking possession for Louis XIV of all the countries on that great stream and all its tributary waters. In consequence of these discoveries the French claimed the entire Mississippi Valley and erected therein numerous forts as a protection for that claim. In 1749 they sent Captain Celeron de Bienville to drive from the valley of the Ohio the English who had settled there.[92] This was sure to result in war. In 1753 Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent Major George Washington to warn the French away. In that year the French built a fort which they called Fort Duquesne on the site of the present Pittsburg in Pennsylvania; and, in April, 1754, Washington went to drive the French from that region but was beaten at Great Meadows and forced to surrender at "Fort Necessity." This began the "French and Indian War," although England did not formally declare war until May 18, 1756.[93] This war was absorbed in the great European conflict known as the "Seven Years War" (1756-1763) between Great Britain and Prussia, on the one hand, and

[891] D. Ramsay's South Carolina, 1809, 147.
[902] Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 77-154; J. P. Baxter's Mission of Jacques Cartier, 1906.
[911] F. X. Martin's History of Louisiana, 1827, 39, 44-45.
[92]Christopher Gist's Journal, 1893, 25-30. M. Darlington's Memoir.
[935] Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 215-216.

Austria, Russia, Sweden, France, and Saxony, on the other hand, which ended in the Treaty of Paris of 1763.[94] In the Seven Years War the British fleet captured Havana in Cuba on October 10, 1762.[95] By the treaty of Paris of 1763 at the close of that war Florida was ceded to Great Britain in return for Havana.[96]

In the three great European wars, that of the Spanish Sucession or Queen Anne's War, that of the Austrian Succession, and the Seven Years War including the French and Indian War, was involved the right of Spain to the country, a part of which became the territory of Buncombe County in North Carolina. The Seven Years War ended in a treaty of peace; deprived Spain of all land in what is now the southeastern part of the United States; and, in so doing it terminated the long and bloody dispute about the Carolina and Georgia region. Spain had now asserted ownership of this region, with varying claims as to the northern border of Florida in which she maintained that it was included, from 1513, when Juan Ponce de Leon landed on the Florida coast, through 1539-1540 when Hernando de Soto explored the vast area, until 1763, for two hundred and fifty years. Indeed, at the treaty of Paris in 1783 which ended the War of the American Revolution (1776-1783) Florida reverted to Spain but it was with a northern limitation which now defines on that border that State of Florida. By the treaty of 1819 Spain ceded this limited territory to the United States, which had already been asserting claim to a part of it, and from the country thus ceded was formed a State which in 1845 became a member of the United States.[97]

Thus passed from Spain a large scope of American soil for the acquisition of which she put forth great exertions, expended large sums, and sacrificed many lives. She had greatly prospered at one time, but in a way that brought her little credit. Singular fortune had exalted her immeasurably and singular fortune had lowered her in a remarkable extent. She had borne prosperity in a way, haughty and cruel, that demonstrated her unworthiness.

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[94]24 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th edition, 715-723; 5 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 215-216.
[95]24 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th edition, 723.
[96]10 Ibid., 544; 3 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 487.
[97]10 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th edition, 544-545.

Fanaticism is a species of insanity which afflicts only the human race, the ignorant and the learned alike, and resembles rabies among quadrupeds in that it is beyond the control of reason and, in its indifference to facts, incurable. The Spaniard imagined himself a partner with deity in the work of gods to resist which conception was inexpiable crime to be avenged here and hereafter, as well as ineffable folly. In this he recognized no restraints of humanity or prudence. Led on by this self-exaltation, he felt equal to the task of a thousand men, a task which well regulated intelligence would have deemed impossible but whose very desperation brought to him success. Of course, he was fated to ultimate humiliation. His meteoric career ended in an explosion at the termination of its dazzling flight and the scattered fragments of his empire, like the vast and erratic mass from which they were projected, exist in insignificant and turbulent arrogance.

CHAPTER V

FRENCH CLAIM

The French once claimed for many years all of the territory of what is Buncombe County, North Carolina, except that small part but latterly included therein which lies on Broad River and was added to Buncombe in 1925. The ancient land of the Bretons was known to the old Romans. It had a Celtic population and was called Armorica, a Roman name derived from two Celtic words, "ar" meaning "on" and "mor" meaning "sea," and hence the land of the "Seaside or "On the Sea." In and after the fifth century of the Christian era the Saxons invaded England and drove many of the population of that land, then composed almost entirely of the Celts, to take refuge in Wales and even to flee from England and Wales to Armorica. The Welsh were also Celts. So great was the number of the British Celts who then went to Armorica that the name of Armorica was changed to Brittany or Little Britain or Bretagne.[1] In fact both Britain and America or Brittany were Celtic countries long before and the Bretons still speak a Celtic dialect.[2] King Arthur was sovereign in both lands.[3] and some people from America had settled in Wales.[4] Welsh tradition asserts that Hu Gadarn, or the Mighty, planted the Cymry in both Armorica and Britain.[5] In 383 and subsequent years the Roman Emperor Maximus carried many Welshmen to Armorica from Britain.[6] From these events the close relationship between Wales and Brittany during centuries appears. "The drawing of the Avan" (an aquatic monster which brought tremendous inundations) "from the Lake was an exploit performed by the Horned Oxen of the Hu Gadarn, or the Mighty, the hero who is recorded as having first conducted the nation of the Cymry into the Island of Britain."[7]

These Bretons, as the inhabitants of Brittany are called,

[1]2 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 578; 28 Idem, 259-264; 12 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 471-472.
[2]Ibid.
[3]Lady C. Guesis Mabinogion, 1877, c. 2; note "Howel the Son of Emyr Llydaw," p. 134, Ibid., c. 1, note on "The Lady of the Fountain," viz. "Kynon the Son of Clydno," p. 37.
[4]Ibid., c. 2 note on "Howel the Son of Emyr Llydaw," p. 134.
[5]Ibid., Kilhweh and Owen, note "Nynnian and Pebiaw," p. 285.
[6]Ibid., note on Maxen Wledig," p. 453-456.
[7]Ibid., "Peredur the Son of Evrawc," note on "Addanc," pp. 133-134.

were a hardy, simple, independent, and, in their peculiar way, enterprising people.

It has been remarked that "There is not a race of eastern Asia—Siberian, Tartar, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, with the Polynesians—which has not been claimed as discoverers, intending or accidental of American Shores."[8] "As respects the possible early connections of America on the side of Europe, there is an equally extensive array of claims, and they have been set forth, first and last, with more persistency than effect."[9]

As early as 1504 the Bretons and their neighbors, the Normans, had been sending fishing vessels to the neighborhood of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and not far from the island of Newfoundland discovered by Sebastian Cabot or John Cabot or both in 1497 or 1498.[10]

These expeditions for fish were made by the Bretons because of the report of John Cabot that fish were so abundant in that region.[11] In memory of these voyages is the name of an island in that neighborhood and "hence this land has been called the Cape of the Breton's."[12] *Robert Thorne,* in a Treatise of his, "affirmeth that his father, and one Master *Eliot* were the Discoverers of the New-found-Lands, exhorted *K. Henry* to undertake the search of the Indies by the Pole, which he held to be Navigable. Upon this motion, 1527, the King sent to shippes as *Hall* and *Grafton* mention in their Chronicles) one of which shippes was cast away about the North-parts of New-found-Land, the other shaping her course towards Cape Briton, and the coats of Arembac (or as some call it *Nounnbega*) returned home," [13]

Robert Thorne, of Bristol, urged King Henry VIII "to set forth a discovery even to the North Pole," and that King, on May 20, 1527, sent two ships, one called Dominus Vobiscum, and one of the ships "was cast away as it entered into a dangerous gulph about the great opening, between the North parts of Newfoundland, and the countrey lately called by her Maiestie, Meta Incognita. Whereupon the

[8]1 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889, 59.
[9]Ibid., 60.
[10]8 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 479; Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 297, 201.
[11]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 198, 193.
[12]Ibid., 297.
[13]Purchas his Pilgrimage, 1613, 625.

other ship shaping her course towards Cape Briton, and coastes of Arembec," went home.[14] In 1536 a Mr. Hove and other Englishmen went on a voyage to Newfoundland and Cape Briton and met a French vessel there.[15] Traces of the voyage of Robert Thorne and Hugh Eliot are to be found "in the King's privy purse accounts," as "17th November, 1503. To one that brought hawkes from the Newfounded isle, 1 £.

"8th April, 1504. To a preste that goeth to the islands 2 £.

"25 August, 1505—To Clay's going to Richmond with wyld catts and popyngays of the new found island, for his costs 13 s. 4 d.

"To Potugales that brought popyngais and catts of the mountayne, with the stuff, to the King's grace, 5 £."[16]

There is a Portuguese claim that in 1463-1464 Joas Vas Costa Cortereal visited the Newfoundland banks; but there is no evidence of weight to sustain this claim and much to render it improbable.[17]

In 1508 Thomas Aubert and John Veranzo went from Dieppe in Normandy to the Saint Lawrence, ascended that stream eighty leagues and carried some natives to France.[18] Normandy was in France and in 1532 Brittany became a part of the same kingdom.[19] Francis I, King of France wished to enter the competition for discovering a western way from Europe to the East and sharing the supposed enormous riches of Eastern lands and engaged in the attempt John Verrazzano, a Florentine, who had already been to America and who now, in 1523, started with four ships.[20] He reached America when he says he discovered "a new land never before seen by men of ancient or modern times," but still an inhabited one, and coasted along its shores. "His remarks concerning his failure to find a convenient harbor where he first descried land, of his unsuccessful search for one south of the thirty-fourth parallel, of his steering afterwards toward the north in quest of a haven, and of his dis-

[14]1 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 293-294; 2 Grafton's Chronicles, 1809, 393.
[15]1 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 294-298.
[16]J. A. Doyle's English in America, Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, 1882, 36-37.
[17]2 J. Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 33-34, inclusive of text statement and note 10 thereon.
[18]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 298, 299, 334.
[19]4 Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 11th Edition, 618.
[20]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 297-301.

appointment in this direction, are so applicable to the peculiar features of this part of the eastern coast of the United States that it is easy to perceive that he faithfully pictures the shores of South Carolina and North Carolina, along which he began his explorations. - - - The New Land (*Nuova Terra*), discovered by Verrazzano, was first seen by him on the tenth of March" (1524) (old style,) being that part of the coast of the continent now included in the present territory of North Carolina, north of Cape Fear, on the thirty-fourth parallel of north latitude. - - - Verrazzano designated his first landing place on the coast of the New Land by calling it Diepa, the Italian form of the French name Dieppe, that of the port from which he had sailed." Of this land he says: "The whole shore is covered with fine sand about fifteen feet deep, rising in the form of little hills about fifty paces broad. Ascending farther, we found several arms of the sea which, entering through inlets, washed the shore on each side as the coast trends. An extensive country appears, rising somewhat above the level of the sandy beach in beautiful fields and broad plains, covered with immense forests, more or less dense, the foliage of the trees being of various colors, too attractive and charming to be described. - - - This land lies in 34°.[21] "After inspecting the sandy, harborless shore of Onslow Bay," says Weise, "Verrazzano sailed eastwardly in order to double Cape Lookout, in 34° 37' north latitude.[22] Verrazzano says, that on this coast they sent twenty-five men in a boat to the shore to get water and the natives in number came to the beach. "A young sailor was attempting to swim ashore through the surf to carry them some knicknacks, as little bells, looking-glasses, and similar trifles, when after approaching near to three or four natives and casting them the things and turning about to get back to the boat, he was overturned by the waves and so dashed by them upon the beach that he lay there as if he were dead. When the people saw him in this condition they ran and took him up by the head, legs, and arms, and carried him some distance from the surf. The young man, finding himself borne off in this way, uttered very loud shrieks in fear and dismay, while they an-

[21]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 302-309.
[22]Ibid., 309-310.

swered as best they could in their language, intimating that he had no cause for fear. Afterward they laid him down at the foot of a little hill, where they took off his shirt and trousers, and examined him, expressing the greatest astonishment at the whiteness of his skin. Our sailors in the boat seeing a great fire kindled and their companion placed very near it, full of fear, as is usual in all cases of a novel character, imagined that the natives were about to roast him for food. But as soon as he had recovered his strength, after a short stay with them, and had shown by signs that he wished to return to the boat, they affectionately hugged him and accompanied him to the beach, where leaving him, they withdrew to a little hill, that he might feel more free, and watched him until he was safe in the boat."[23]

This seems to have occurred about the thirty-sixth parallel of north latitude and in the vicinity of Roanoke Island, North Carolina. From that place Verrazzano proceeded northwardly, passed in the night the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, and anchored off the coast of Virginia north of Cape Charles which is in latitude north 37° 3′. "When Verrazzano was on land with the twenty men, he crossed the narrow peninsula of Virginia and beheld the wide expanse of Chesapeake Bay," which he supposed to be a part of the Indian Ocean. He still went northward but failed to find a passage into that bay. When he returned to France, he made a map of this region, showing the sea or bay and the narrow land which separated it from the Atlantic Ocean "similar in outline and situation to the northern part of the peninsula of Virginia."[24] "This is corroborated by Hakluyt, the English Collector, who says: "Master John Verazanus, which had been thrise on that coast, in an olde excellent mappe which he gave to King Henrie the Eight, and is yet in the custodie of Master Locke, doth so lay it out."[25] This establishes the fact that John Verrazzano discovered Chesapeake Bay in 1524.

From Virginia Verrazzano continued his voyage northwardly, explored New York harbor and the Hudson River where it empties, sailed on to Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island, in latitude north 41 2-3° and to the coast of Maine and

[23]Ibid., 310-311.
[24]Ibid., 311-315.
[25]Ibid., 315.

along that coast and to the fiftieth parallel of North latitude, when he stopped and returned to France. On July 8, 1524, old style, he wrote, from Dieppe to Francis I, King of France, a full account of his voyage. The country which he had discovered was put on a map as early as 1527 under the name of Francesca; later it was designated La Nouvelle France (New France) for years.[26] John Verrazzano made another expedition to North America in 1526. When he reached that continent, "having gone on land with some of his men, he and they were all put to death by the inhabitants, and in the presence of those who were on board the ship were roasted and devoured."[27] This voyage brought considerable loss to those who provided its equipment. In consequence, it was some years before the French again undertook to find a passage through North America to the oriental regions or to form a settlement on that continent of North America.[28]

Jacques Cartier, sometimes called "the Corsair," a Breton mariner, on April 20, 1534, went from Saint Malo, under a commission of Francis I.. King of France, with two ships to America, arriving at Newfoundland May 10. He explored the Coast of Labrador; but, finding no passage to the East Indies, returned to France. Again he was sent to America by Francis I. and started with three ships May 19, 1535. He named Saint Lawrence Bay and ascended Saint Lawrence River to an Indian settlement called by them Hochelaga and named by him Mount Royal because of a mountain there. He went back to France; and, after passing "many ships of France and Britain," landed at Saint Malo, July 6. 1536. Again in 1541, he went to Canada, and apparently once more in 1543.[29] In Cartier's commission for his voyage in 1541, he is said to be sent "to the lands of Canada and Hochelaga, which form the extremity of Asia towards the west." Because of the voyages of Verrazzano and Cartier, especially of Cartier, the French claimed, anyhow, a part of North America and, in particular, Canada which they called New France. Feeble efforts of the French to plant

[26]Ibid., 315-334.
[27]See Ibid., 335-343 and 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 389-401.
[28]Weise's Discoveried of America, 1884, 340-344.
[29]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 77-168; Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 344-345; 4 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 47-66; J. P. Baxter's Memoir of Jacques Cartier, 1906.

colonies in Canada and its vicinity followed in 1540, 1584, 1598, 1604, 1610 and later. In 1608 Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec, so called from its Indian name "Quebecio." "indicating a narrow place," and in 1613 he founded the city of Montreal.[30] In July, 1609, he discovered Lake Champlain and about 1615 Lake Huron and Lake Ontario. Etienne (Stephen) Brule, of Champigny, discovered Lake Superior in 1618, and Jean Nicolet, of Cherbourg, discovered Lake Michigan, sometimes called Lake Illinois, in 1634,[31] but other authorities ascribe to Brule the discovery of Lake Superior, Lake Huron, and Lake Erie.[32] There is doubt about the time of the discovery of Niagara Falls and as to the person by whom the discovery was made. It has been said that Cartier made the discovery or, at least, reported the existence of that cataract,[33] and by others that LaSalle first found those falls in 1678.[34] The meaning of the name, like the meaning of many other Indian names, is variously given. One says that "Niagara" means, in the language of the Five Nations, "a fall of water;"[35] another says that the word means, in Iroquois, "Thunder of the waters," and is pronounced O-ni-aa-gaa-ra;[36] another says that it is Neagara in the Seneca-Iroquois dialect and means "Across the neck";[37] and, no doubt, there are other interpretations.[38] The name of Canada is also said to be derived from the Iroquois word, Kaunatha, meaning village; but the derivation is disputed and the name was applied to the region at a very early day, by whom is not known. An extensive trade in furs quickly followed the French occupation of Canada; and soon Jesuits were preaching to the Indians for a great way in every direction.

From the vicinity of the Great Lakes the French explored the Mississipi River. Jean Nicolet first visited the upper part of that stream in 1639. by ascending the Ottawa from the Saint Lawrence River and crossing Lake Huron and through Mackinaw Straits to Green Bay and up Fox River

[30]1 F. X. Martin's History of Louisiana, 1827, 39, 44-45.
[31]Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 164-166, 202.
[32]J. H. Malone's Chickasaw Nation, 1922, 141.
[33]G. W. Holley's Niagara, 15, 16.
[34]A. M. Hart's History of the Valley of the Mississippi, 1860, 35.
[35]2 New Collection of Voyages, 1767, 144.
[36]J. Pritt's Mirror of Olden Time Border Life, 1849, 643, note.
[37]Schele DeVere's Americanisms, 1872, 18.
[38]Parkman's LaSalle, 1899, 139.

to the portage across Wisconsin River. In 1670-1671 Robert Cavelier Sieur de LaSalle discovered the Ohio after hearing of it in New York from a Shawnee prisoner. He descended the Allegheny River to the Ohio and the latter to the site of Louisville, Kentucky. In 1673 Louis Joliet and Jacques Marquette reached the Mississippi River by way of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers and passed as far down as the mouth of the Arkansas River. Robert Cavelier Sieur de LaSalle, in 1682, went down the Mississippi from the Illinois River and reached the mouth of the great Mississippi River and called it Saint Louis River and took possession for the French monarch, Louis XIV, of the entire country on the stream and all its tributaries. In the early years of the eighteenth century French from Canada, coming by the Great Lakes to the head of Lake Michigan and on, began to form settlements on the Illinois River and on the rivers Mississippi, Maumee and Wabash. Rebuilding in 1726 the fort at Niagara, abandoned in 1688, DeLery, Chief Engineer of Canada, crossed from Lake Erie to Lake Chatauqua and to the Allegheny River and the Ohio River and surveyed those regions to the Great Miami. In 1753 the French erected Fort Presque Isle (Erie, Pennsylvania), and Fort LeBoeuf (Waterford, Erie County, Pennsylvania), and in 1754 Fort Franklin (at Verango, now Franklin), and Fort DuQuesne (now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), and in 1736 Fort Massac (in Massa County, Illinois.) On these forts they relied to hold the Mississippi Valley. In 1749 they sent Captain Celeron de Bienville to drive the English settlers from the Ohio Valley. He buried there lead plates with claims to the country inscribed on them. In 1750-1751 Christopher Gist, agent for the Ohio Company of Virginia, explored portions of the upper Mississippi Country.[29] Having thus prepared themselves the French began by conciliatory conduct to court the favor of all the Indians living within reach in this vast country which was thus expected to become French territory. They treated the Indians with studied politeness, gave them medals and high-sounding titles, sent gunsmiths among them to repair their firearms, told them that the English designed to seize all Indian lands and were enemies

[29]Christopher Gist's Journal, 1893, 25-30, W. M. Darlington's Memoir.

of God. "Then they infected the credulous Indians with a firm belief, that God once sent His own beloved Son to fix the red people in high places of power, over the rest of mankind; that He passed through various countries, to the universal joy of the inhabitants, in order to come to the beloved red people, and place them in a superior station of life to the rest of the American world; but when He was on the point of sailing to America, to execute His divine embassy, He was murdered by the bloody monopolizing English, at the City of London, only to make the red people weigh light."[40] In 1699 the French made their first permanent settlement in what are the Gulf States at Biloxi Bay in the present State of Mississippi; and, in 1714, they built, on Coosa River, in the vicinity of the mouth of Tallapoosa River, and only a few miles above the modern city of Montgomery, Alabama, a fort and trading station called by them Fort Toulouse but which was known to the English as the "Fort at the Alabamas." This brought the French into the centre of the southern Indian trading territory.[41]

"The French still bent on their grand scheme of uniting their possession on the Gulf of Mexico, with those of Canada on the north, erected in rapid succession, after the completion of Fort Toulouse, Fort Tombeckbe among the Choctaws, Fort Assumption on the Chickasaw Bluff, and Paducah at the mouth of the Cumberland River, besides numerous trading houses along the Tennessee, in close proximity to the Cherokees and Catawbas; the former occupying a position in the midst of their mountain barriers, on the immediate border of Carolina, which had long been regarded as the key to that province."[42] Forts on which the French expected to rely in order to connect their possessions in Canada with their possessions in Louisiana and its vicinity were Fort Du Quesne and the forts on Lake "Ontario at Niagara, the Illinois, the Chickasaw bluffs, the Yazous, Natches, Pointe Coupee and New Orleans."[43]

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[40]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 189, 342, 378; Adair's Ameican Indians, 1775, 153, 289; F. Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, 1899, 185.

[41]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 34-35 and Map between 22 and 23, 2 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1858, 294, 232-233; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 333-334, 337, 340-341; 2 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 383, 422; 2 Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations, 1902 Edition, 34.

[42]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 333, 364, 372-374; Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations, 1902 Edition, 34; 2 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1858, 294.

[43]1 F. X. Martin's History of Louisiana, 1827, 319.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

BORN 1552. DIED 1618.

HIS EXPEDITION LED TO THE FIRST SETTLEMENT ON ROANOKE ISLAND

Such was the French plan, a plan which embraced in its territorial extent, the entire area of the present Buncombe County, North Carolina. But their plan experienced another development before its completion in area. An occurrence of worldwide influence had in the meantime been in progress in Europe and was destined to extend its operations to North America.

Throughout the historic period the leading peoples have had religious professions about which they have wrangled and warred. These dissensions have not been confined to professed faiths of different names; but they have experienced their most violent and bloody contests among those of the same general religion. From the closing days of the medieval period a branch of Christianity commonly known as Catholicism with the Roman pontiff for its head had established itself as the principal religion of southern Europe. In its early periods Christianity had, from time to time, been divided into well nigh innumerable sects which asserted different interpretations of their religious manuals in regard to almost an infinite number of subjects, comprehensible and incomprehensible, real or imaginary; and about these such sects had quarreled and fought through centuries with a virulence and barbarity which exceeded the virulence and barbarity of the most savage barbarians. At last, by securing and exercising the powers of government and the dispensation of its favors and severities, as well as by the employment of gorgeous ceremonial outfits and the practice of imposing ceremonies and the assiduous endeavors of its officials and ecclesiastics and a resort to extreme tortures of various and sundry kinds and by means less reprehensible, the Catholics had united under their control and reduced to subservience all these warring factions with a few exceptions of no great importance, throughout southern and central Europe. The final triumph of that faith over the cultivated and elegant Mohammedans in Spain had about completed in that part of Europe the unquestioned dominion of Catholicism and given promise of its mastery of the world.

But just at this time there broke out afresh in Catholic lands, in the sixteenth century, an unexpected and extended revival of many of those ancient contentions in the Chris-

tian Church which it had long been the custom of the Catholics to vehemently denounce, under penalty of their extreme displeasure and eternal punishment in a future world of spirits, with the approbrious name of heresy. Suddenly there sprung up in their own midst thousands of heretics among their own subjects. So numerous were these that, not only the dominion but even the existence of Catholicism seemed in peril. It is true that these defections were weakened by being divided into dozens of sects who hated each other; but for a time these sects forgot in antagonism to the Catholics their own differences and under the general name of Protestants united in opposition to their common foe, the Catholics. This renewal of theological disputes and consequent controversies, broils, wars, and butcheries rapidly spread over all the countries once subject to the imperious dominance of Catholic power and the Catholic hierarchy. This movement has received from the Protestants the name of the "Reformation," a designation the propriety of which is not obvious when the methods and conduct of the "Reformers" and their leaders are considered.

Among the most active and fanatical of these Protestant leaders was a French controversialist named Jean Canvin, generally known as John Calvin, a former Catholic priest who turned Protestant and in consequence of persecution by his old associates, went to Geneva, in Switzerland, the country which has so long and so boldly boasted of devotion to human liberty and has ever been ready to send forth men to fight against the liberties of other people in other countries. In Geneva John Calvin managed to establish a sort of ecclesiastical aristocracy in which his own power approached that of a dictator. After a controversy with a Spanish physician, and scientist whom he had once known, named Michael Servetus, he procured or joined in procuring this distinguished man to be burned in Geneva, to which place Servetus had imprudently gone. This John Calvin became the leader of the French Protestants, who acquired the name of Huguenots and became very numerous and powerful as well as very turbulent in their own country and enlisted in their cause many French nobles and men of importance and influence. There they became also a political party and from 1562 to 1600 engaged in civil wars with the

Catholics in France, whom they strove to equal, not without success, in atrocities, endangering the French monarchy and producing a long period of disturbances amounting almost to anarchy characterized by slaughters scarcely human in numbers and character. Indeed humanity revolts at the recital of either side's acts against the other.

The French were still engaged in forming settlements in North America and building up there an empire which they confidently expected to aid its mother country in the acquisition of a nationality superior to all others. By this time the Catholics held the greater power in France. It was then decided to employ some Huguenots in a way that might result in benefit to both parties. They could be sent to a part of North America where there were as yet no French settlements. The Catholics approved such a movement as helping to extend French power while it relieved them of troublesome people at home. The Huguenots looked forward to relief from Catholic control in France while it promised to them a home where their own control would be undisputed and they might make all people Protestants of the Huguenot order. They knew full well that the place of their destination was claimed by the Spaniards. But the occupation of the Spaniards was merely nominal. The Spaniards, as they were aware, were most bigoted Catholics; and these emigrants were accustomed to killing Catholics for the Lord's sake and had no objections to ridding the earth of a few more "idolaters." The rights of the Indians never entered into their consideration. If they even thought of Indians it was only with a view to convert them into Indian Huguenots if any of them chanced to be of "the Lord's elect." Otherwise Indians were simply servants of the Devil and deserving of extirpation promptly executed by "the elect of God."

Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, was a Huguenot leader. He proposed to send out a colony of his people to settle in North America, and the French monarch, Charles IX., readily assented to the plan. In that day, as in this, it was esteemed an act of great generosity and virtue to give away other people's property in the promotion of a religious or alleged charitable scheme. This country did not belong to Charles IX to give or to Coligny to use. Neither seems

to have seen in this fact any obstacle whatever to Coligny's plan. Already, in 1552, he had sent out a body of French Huguenots to form a settlement in Brazil but the project had failed, chiefly because the settlers proved to be pirates.[44] Now he attempted to carry out his project in another part of the western world. Two ships were prepared at the King's expense, manned with French Protestants, some of whom were veteran soldiers and some young noblemen, under the command of an experienced Protestant mariner, Jean (John) Ribault, of Dieppe. On February 18, 1562, it set out for the country in North America which the Spaniards called Florida but the French decided to be a part of New France. Landing near the site of the present Saint Augustine, Florida, the expedition sailed north. It came to the mouth of Saint John's River, which the Indians called Yeacca which later the Spaniards named Saint Matteo but which, from the month of their arrival the French called the River of May. There these voyagers set up a pillar on an elevation and on the pillar engraved the French Arms. The Indians gave them a welcome and a "fan of feathers, dyed with a brilliant red; together with a skin so artfully decorated with pictures of beasts, that they lacked nothing but life to make them real." In search of DeAyllon's River Jourdan, they sailed northwardly along the coast and named several rivers which they passed, the Seine, the Somme, the Loire, the Charante, the Garonne, the Gironde, the Belle, the Grande, and the Port Royal. The ships separating in a storm, met, after a day and night, at the mouth of a river which, because of "the fairness and largeness of its harbor," Ribault named, as it still is named, Port Royal, where "the argosies of Venice could ride upon its bosom." This is now in South Carolina. A few miles up the river Ribault erected on an island, probably Lemon Island, a pillar engraved with the arms of France. Ascending another (supposed to be Port Royal) river he built on an island a fort which, in honor of the French king, he called Arx Carolina (Fort Charles), supposed to have been on the southeastern point of Paris Island. Leaving there a garrison of twenty-five men under Captain Albert de la

[44]Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 231; 1 Southey's History of Brazil, 1810, 270.

Pierria, Ribault returned to France, arriving there July 20, 1562, in the midst of a civil war.[45]

The colonists wasted their provisions and were most kindly given aid by the Indians there and at Ouade, seventy-five miles away, on the River LaBelle. When they returned from Ouade they found their buildings at the fort reduced to ashes through the carelessness of those left in charge. The Indians helped to replace the buildings. Captain Albert sentenced to death a disobedient drummer and threatened and undertook to starve others. A mutiny followed, Albert was executed, and Nicholas Barre put in his place. Concluding to return to France they built a vessel with the assistance of the Indians and, after great suffering at sea from storm and famine, were rescued by an English ship and carried to France and England.

Ignorant of what had happened to his colonists, Coligny induced the King of France to send to their aid three ships under the command of Rene Goulaine de Landonniere who had been with Ribault in the former voyage, accompanied by James le Moyne, called DeMorgues, a skilful painter to make pictures of whatever he might find worthy of portrayal. Leaving France on April 22, 1564, this expedition, on the following June 22, reached Cape Francois, ninety miles from the River May (Saint John's) and proceeded to that river where they found Ribault's pillar and friendly Indians, sun-worshippers, learned of the fate of the fort near Port Royal and built on an elevation near the River Saint John's a fort which, in honor of Prince Charles, they named Fort Carolina. Landonniere, on his arrival, sent two of his ships back to France. Very soon he became involved in quarrels with some of the Indian tribes and robbed some of their granaries. He spent much time in hunting for gold. His followers, finding no gold, became troublesome. They were turbulent people who had spent their lives in wrangling over mystical questions of supernatural existence and

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[45]1 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, and Map, 1836, XXXIV; Barnard Shipp's DeSoto and Florida, 1881, 499, note; 1 Holmes's Annals, 567; Rivers's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 24, 25; B. F. French's Historical Collections of Lousiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 189; J. Sparks's John Ribault, 1845, 5-156; 2 J. Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 268-269; 2 (E. Burke's) Account of the European Settlements in America, 1765, 234-235; A. M. Mallett's Map of Florida, 1683; Henry Mouzon's Map of North and South Carolina, 1777; Bernard Romans's History of Florida, 1776, 1, 273.

clamoring, as all fanatics do for "liberty of conscience" to regulate the affairs of other people. Disciples of a religious agitator who participated in the murder of another sectary for avowing views at variance with his own, they would never be content as long as there was in reach any person whom they were unable to subject to the domination of an ignorance inebriated with egotism. Relieved of the presence of the equally ignorant, unscrupulous, and intolerant, if less seditious, Catholics to quarrel with about what neither comprehended and unable to incite the aborigines to controversies in regard to the nature, composition, and plans of the deity, they began to rend each other, and, having almost an entire continent to themselves, they set out in search of religious adversaries among the islands of the West Indies. Laudonniere discovered and suppressed a mutiny in the ranks of his followers. Some of these followers decided to embark in a piratical cruise against the Spaniards of the West India Islands; but he refused to give them the passports without which they could not navigate the sea in safety. They imprisoned him and extorted the passports. Stealing a vessel they departed for the West Indies. After seizing some vessels, they reached Jamaica and took captive the governor of that island. The governor outwitted them and got notice to his wife who sent ships to rescue him. The Huguenots fled. When they returned to his fort Laudonniere executed four of their leaders. Famine followed the neglect to plant grain and war followed the robbing of the Indians for supplies. Then the colonists resolved to go back to France. Preparations of vessels inferior in character were made. Just as they were about to leave America, Captain John Hawkins, the English naval hero, arrived and offered to take them to France. Suspecting his designs, they declined his offer. He sold them a vessel, gave them a generous supply of food and clothing, and took his departure. Again arrangements were made for a return to France. Then some ships arrived. This time it was John Ribault with supplies for the colony. While Ribault was at work, landing his provisions and getting things in better order at the fort, on September 4, 1565, six large Spanish ships entered the harbor under

Pedro Menendez de Airles.[46] Menendez was a celebrated Spanish mariner who was sent by Philip II of Spain to drive the Huguenots from Florida when it became known in Spain that they were attempting to make a settlement there. On August 25, 1565, he came in sight of Florida. At once he began to search for these Huguenots and soon learned from the Indians where they were. At that time he discovered there a good harbor and an attractive river, Because he had first seen these on the day assigned in the Roman Calendar to that saint, he named that harbor and that river Saint Augustine. Further north he saw some of the French fleet at anchor. The French asked who he was and what he wanted. He answered: "I am Menendez of Spain sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic, I will spare, every heretic shall die." On the other hand, the Huguenots say that he professed friendship. It makes but little difference how this was. There was war between them and each of them knew that well. Ribault had learned before his departure from France that Menendez was on his way to Florida. To a letter which he received from Coligny before sailing there was a postscript in these words: "Captain John Ribault, as I was enclosing up this letter I received a certaine advice, that Don Pedro Menendez departeth from Spaine to go to the Coast of Newe France: see you that you suffer him not to encroach upon you, no more than he would that you should encroach upon him." Menendez was aware that a French expedition, under "the Corsair Ribao," as a Spanish author designated him, was on the way to Florida.[47] Anyhow, the French cut their cables and fled, pursued by Menendez. They made good their escape. Menendez went back to the harbor of Saint Augustine. There, on September 8, 1565, he commenced the foundation of the town of Saint Augustine, the oldest city in the United States. Thus it came about that the priest who had so confidently declared that there could be no antipodes and no one could go to an

[46]River's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 24; Spark's John Ribault, 1845, 51-52, note; 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 268-269; 27 Voltaire's General History, c. 112, p. 83; 1 Leigh Hunt's Works, 1857, 168; 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 508;; 1 Ibid, 241-244; 4 Arhei's English Garner, 1909, 71-75; Ecco Homo, 1813, 188, note.

[47]Pedro Menendez de Aviles by Gonzalo Solis de Meras, J. T. Connor Translation, 1923, 16, 78.

antipodal position on the earth without falling off, had his name given to the oldest town in the most important country of the antipodes founded by people of his own persuasion who had gone there from Europe and had not fallen from the earth in doing so. The name should serve as a warrant to impudent ignorance against its attacks on science and learning.

In accordance with the orders which he had so received from "my Lord Admiral," Ribault prepared to attack Menendez. Laudonniere remonstrated against this purpose in vain. He and Ribault quarrelled and parted.

As Ribault left the harbor he encountered a storm which continued for three weeks and wrecked all his ships. His men escaped. Menendez made an expedition by land to Fort Carolina and took it by surprise on September 21, 1565. Laudonniere, LeMoyne and a few others got away and were rescued by two small French vessels in the harbor. Most of the others were slain in the attack or afterwards. Many of the women and young children perished in the beginning of the attack, but Menendez stopped the slaughter. Nearly two hundred of the French were killed. Ribault and his party surrendered a few days later and were executed. A few Catholics and some mechanics were spared. About nine hundred persons, in all, lost their lives.[48]

Menendez was highly indignant. In reward for humbling his rival, Allah, and reducing God's enemies in Spain, the abominable Moslem, God through the miraculous discovery of a new world, had given to the Spaniards this vast domain and had confirmed, through his earthly representative the holy pontiff at Rome, this richly earned benefaction. It was, therefore, the exclusive privilege of God's favorite people, the Spaniards, as it was their duty, to hold this gift at all hazards, to expound to the Indians the mysteries homourion and homoiusion, the filioque, the three witnesses, and the real presence and to bring to them the blessings of the Inquisition and baptism. Incidentally it was also the exclusive and god-given privilege of the favored Spaniards to rob the Indians of their country and their gold and to make

[48]G. R. Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 16, 31; B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 229, 208.

slaves of these heathen, all for the good of their eternal souls. In the face of these perfectly obvious facts, there had entered upon these lands a body of bad Christians who believed in lies and deserved to be killed, since they had come to mislead the Indians "as they had already before misled and deceived many good Christians, in order that the devil may take possession of them;"[49] and to teach the poor Indians the ruinous doctrine of "the spiritual presence of Christ in the eucharist, and not the doctrine of consubstantiation."[50] Moreover these bad "Lutherans had come to give these Indians a worthless kind of baptism and, as a side issue, to rob the Indians of their country and their gold and to make slaves of them, not for the good of the eternal souls of the Indians but for the aggrandisement of the "Lutherans." Knowing all this Menendez, on capturing the fort, hung his male prisoners and their slain comrades to the boughs of a tree and erected a stone at the foot of the tree with the inscription: "I do not do this as to Frenchman, but as to Lutherans." Then, in commemoration of the capture of Fort Charles on Saint Matthew's day he renamed the River of May "San Matteo River."[51] Correspondence on this subject occurred between the courts of France and Spain with slight results.[52]

Of course, this killing was for the sake of the Indians' welfare and the "glory of God." Two bodies of religionists had set out to destroy each other and possess Florida. One succeeded; the other failed. The loser complained. It was nothing unusual in history. The act of Menendez was an atrocious one. But it saved him and his men from the same fate at the hands of those victims if they had won. If there existed any doubt of this, that doubt was soon dispelled by a French act of even greater atrocity at the same place. Diminic de Gourges, a Gascon, distinguished as a soldier, was serving against the Spaniards when he was captured in Italy and sent to the galleys. Made a prisoner by "the Turkeys" and carried to Constantinople, he was "recovered" by Romeguas, "commander over the Armies of Malta." Re-

[49]G. R. Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 46-56.
[50]2 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 457.
[51]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 524, B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 229;; W. Lowery's Spanish Settlements in the United States, 1905, 155-207.
[52]W. Lowey's Spanish Settlements in the United States, 1905, 299-313.

tiring later from a seaman's life, he heard of the massacre at Fort Carolina. Thirsting for vengeance on the Spaniards for wrongs inflicted on himself, he equipped three vessels; and, commissioned by the French authorities "to catch negroes on the coast of Africa," he set out on August 22, 1567, and, securing a cargo of negroes at Cape Blanco, sold his negroes in the West Indies. The Spaniards in Florida had no idea of his purpose when he passed by Fort Carolina, now Fort Saint Matthew, and, responding to a salute therefrom, passed up the coast. By the aid of some of Laudonniere's men whom he had brought along he entered into a secret alliance with some of the Indians, and with their assistance assailed and took the fort in April, 1568. Many of the Spaniards were slaughtered by the Indians. DeGourges took some prisoners and hung them on the same tree on which Menendez had hung the Hugenots. For the stone put there by Menendez he substituted a pine plank on which he wrote: "I do not this as unto Spaniards or as unto mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers and murtherers." Destroying the fort, he returned to France, where he was coldly received by the government and cordially greeted by the people, and died in 1582.[53] The French government disavowed this act and the Spaniards retained possession for many years.[54] This poor attempt at homicidal wit on the part of DeGourges has delighted Protestants for many years. On the early French attempts at settlements in what are now the States of South Carolina and Florida there is a good deal of discussion in Johnson's Life of Greene.[55]

No one can regard the murders perpetrated by Menendez without reprehension. But they cannot equal the murders of DeGouges in infamy. The Huguenots knew when they went to Florida that the country was claimed by the Spaniards and they knew the bigotry of those Spaniards. The commander of the relief fleet, John Ribault, knew, before leaving France that Menendez had gone from Spain for the purpose of removing the Huguenots from Florida. Ribault, at starting received from Admiral Coligny explicit direc-

[53]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 524-533; 18 Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, 185-186; F. Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World, 1899, 157-178; B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, Second Series. 1875, 266; W. Lowery's Spanish Settlements in the United States, 1905, 314-336.

[54]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889. 407-533; 1 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, XXI-LXVII.

[55]1 Johnson's Life of Greene, 476-484.

tion to resist such attempt on the part of Menendez. After reaching Florida Ribault prepared to attack Menendez and was about to do so when the French fleet was wrecked by a storm. Under such circumstances Menendez made his attack. DeGourges, on the other hand, was unknown to the Spanish colony, his purpose to attack that colony was secret, his motive unsuspected, his entire behavior a profession of friendship. Secretly he employed a body of savages to join him in surprising the fort. No opportunity was given for withdrawal or surrender. His Indians butchered in numbers people unprepared to resist or escape. He seized people without knowing whether or not they had participated in or approved the conduct of Menendez and hung them chiefly to gratify a feeling of revenge against the Spaniards from whom, years before, he had suffered personal injuries in Italy. If the Catholics had no reason to feel pride for the crimes of Menendez, the Protestants had much less cause to congratulate themselves for the brutalities almost unprovoked, of DeGourges.

Laudonniere declared to his associates when he refused the generous offer of Captain John Hawkins: "After sundry debatings of this matter, in conclusion I gave mine advise, that wee ought to deliver him the price of the ship which he was to leave us, and that for my part I was content to give him the best of my stuffe and the silver which I had gathered in the country. Whereupon notwithstanding it was determined that I should keepe the silver for feare lest the Queene of England seeing the same, should rather bee encouraged to set footing there, as before she had desired. And that it was far better to carie it into France to give encouragement unto our Prince not to leave off an enterprise of great importance for our commonwealth."[56]

Laudonniere and his companions landed in Wales. He and some of them went from there to London and thence to Paris. James le Moyne, otherwise called Jacques Morgues of Dieppe, remained in London where, in 1587, he was in the service of Sir Walter Raleigh. There he wrote an account of what he had seen in Florida and illustrated it with maps and drawings which he had made in America.[57] These

[56] 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 506.
[57] 1 Pickett's Alabama, 1851, 56, note; G. R. Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 21-25.

he refused to sell to DeBry, the famous publisher, who went to London to purchase them. The next year Le Moyne died and his widow sold the papers to DeBry who published them in one of his volumes. Some of these drawings were reproduced in 1851 in Pickett's History of Alabama and all of them in 1875 in a book by F. B. Perkins entitled, "Narrative of LeMoyne, an artist who accompanied the French Expedition to Florida under Laudonniere," 1564. Other publications of the pictures have appeared. Of course, they are of great value to the student of Indian life and character. Laudonniere published an extended account of the expedition which was republished in English in Hakluyt's Voyages.[58]

The French had killed Indians in Florida and it was not long before the Spaniards engaged on a large scale in the same employment. The Indians never learned to appreciate the difference between the real presence and the spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Nor did it ever appear to an Indian whose wife was killed by a bullet in their wigwam or that wigwam reduced to ashes whether the bullet or torch was directed by the hand of an orthodox Catholic or a Huguenot Reformer.

Some of the French escaped the massacre of Menendez as has been seen. In 1586 the celebrated English sea-captain, Sir Francis Drake, "returning from a freebooting expedition against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, observed a lookout upon the shores of Anastasia Island, near the entrance to the harbor of St. Augustine," landed with a piece of ordnance and fired a shot through the royal standard of Spain waving over the fort. Suspending an attack because it was near night, when next morning a man spproached the English in a canoe. He was a French fifer whom Menendez had spared and came "playing the Prince of Orange's March." His name was Nicholas de Bourgoyne or Burgoignon, alias Holy, who had been in Florida six years.[59]

[58] Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 551, 229; Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World. 1899, 151-180.

[59] Goldsmid'ts Hakluyt, 1889, 534-536; G. R F.irbanks's History of Florida, 1871, 159-160; G. R. Fairbanks's History and Antiquities of Saint Augustine, 1881, 58.

CHAPTER VI

FRENCH CLAIM

The French abandoned attempts to form a settlement in Florida but proceeded with their Canadian enterprises, and explorations until they had reached the headwaters of the Mississippi River. Marquette and Joliet had been driven back when they attempted a descent of that river by the Chickasaws in the vicinity of the mouth of the Arkansas River. On their return they found the mouth of the Illinois River, passed up that stream, crossed the portage to Chicago, and in their canoes paddled their way on Lake Michigan to Green Bay. LaSalle, with more success at first, reached the mouth of the Mississippi River, named the country there Louisiana in honor of Louis the Fourteenth, King of France, returned, by way of Canada, to France, fitted out, with governmental aid, an expedition of four ships and one hundred and eighty people, for the purpose of planting a colony near the mouth of the Mississippi, sailed to the Gulf of Mexico, failed to find the entrance to the Mississippi, explored the neighborhood, and was murdered in Texas through a mutiny of his party, after three months of wandering. There were born in Quebec seven brothers who acquired much reputation in the French military service. One of these, Pierre le Moyne, Sieur de Iberville, was sent out from France in command of an expedition to form a French settlement in Louisiana where he arrived on January 31, 1699, landing at Mobile Bay. He started with a party of men on a tour of inspection and in a boat entered the Mississippi, "the first to enter the great river from the sea." After some exploration up the river, he returned toward the gulf, passed through Bayou Manchac, entered the river Amite, and Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, "which he named in honor of the two principal Ministers of the King," and re-entered the Gulf of Mexico on which, "at the eastern extremity of the bay of Biloxi and within the limits of the present State of Mississippi," he built a fort and put it under the command of his brother, Sanvolle, and then went back to France.[80] Bienville, another brother, went up the

[80] 1 A. J. Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 180-187; 3 Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1894, 338-339.

Mississippi and induced an English captain, with two war vessels, intending to settle an English colony on that stream, to depart by representing that the river was one of which the French had taken possession and that the Mississippi River lay considerably to the west. Iberville came back from France with two large ships and supplies. He built a fort up the Mississippi. The Spanish governor of Pensacola, Roalli, came with a fleet to expel the French but found them too strong and went back to Pensacola, "leaving only a proclamation protesting against the settlement of any portion of the coast, the whole breadth of which, he contended, belonged to His Catholic Majesty's Mexican possessions." Then Iberville went up the Mississippi to the site of the present city of Natchez and laid off a town there called Rosalie for the Countess of Pontchartrain. After another visit to France and, on coming back, he caused the removal of the Biloxi fort to the mouth of Dog River where he named the new fort Mobile from the bay of Mobile on which it stood, the bay getting its name from the Maubila Indians, although the fortress itself received the name of Fort Saint Louis de la Mobile. In 1711 the French moved up to the mouth of Mobile River and founded there the present City of Mobile. Bienville, another brother of Iberville was made governor of Fort Saint Louis de la Mobile when it was built and Iberville once more went to France. The French and Spaniards of that region were now friendly and assisted each other, especially when, in 1702, Queen Anne's War or the War of the Spanish Succession began with France and Spain opposed to Great Britain.[81] From the beginning of their settlement in this region the French had made assiduous court to the neighboring Indian tribes.[82] The English in South Carolina had long had traders among some of the southern tribes and were continuously extending their trade to others. Some Canadians were sent to the Alabamas for corn by the French. They were all killed or wounded. Bienville led a force against the Alabamas and killed some and seized some of their provisions and sent

[81]1 A. J. Pickett's History of Alabama, 1861, 187-193; 10 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 142-144.
[82]Ibid., 187, 190, 192, 193.

Chickasaws and Choctaws who brought scalps of Alabamas. Other Indians retaliated. Then war broke out between the Chickasaws and the Choctaws. The French meddled. Thereupon the French sent a force against the Alabamas and the Muscogees (Creeks.) By this time the Chickasaws had become unfriendly to these intermeddlers. Famine and quarrels among the French themselves followed. Iberville died of yellow fever at Havana when about to lead an attack against Charleston or North Carolina.[63] Then the French endeavored to seduce the Chickasaws from their friendly relations with the South Carolinians. They also enslaved or endeavored to enslave Indians who were so unreasonable as to run to the woods.[64]

The French King, on September 14, 1712, made a contract with a rich French merchant named Antoine Crozat by which he granted to Crozat for fifteen years the exclusize commerce of Louisiana in which was embraced, besides others, "all the country upon the Mississippi and its numerous tributaries from the sea as high up as the Illinois River." This included the present North Carolina west of the Blue Ridge. There were other concessions to Crozat in this contract, for which he was to do certain things, and "All this country was to be a dependency upon the government of New France." "The population of Louisiana, now turned over to Crozat, consisted of twenty-eight families, twenty negroes, seventy-five Canadians, and two companies of infantry of fifty men each, the whole numbering three hundred and twenty-five souls." They traded largely in peltries and Indian slaves. Bienville was still in charge and bribed with presents Indians visiting him to "abandon the interests of the English of Carolina and Virginia." The South Carolina people at Charleston had been engaged in this Indian trade from about 1680 before the French began their settlement in 1699, 19 years, and during "much of that time Carolina and Virginia traders had penetrated portions of the great Muscogee nation, which extended from the Savannah nearly to the Warrior, in Alabama. They also carried their merchandise further west, into the heart of the Chickasaw nation, among whom they established trading

[63]Ibid., 193-199; 3 Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1894, 339.
[64]1 Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851. 200-209.

shops, in defiance of the French settlements upon the Mobile" of about twenty-eight families. Bienville persuaded the Muscogees (Creeks) to let him build a French "fort high up in their country." This fort he erected, June 22, 1714, "at the town of Tuskegee, which was situated on the east bank of the Coosa, four miles above the junction of that stream with the Tallapoosa and named it Fort Toulouse in honor of a French count of that name. Years afterwards this place became the site of Fort Jackson erected by the army of General Andrew Jackson, but not, as in the erection of Fort Toulouse by the liar, Bienville, when they "formed themselves in religious order, and surrounded a cross which had been hastily constructed; two priests, who accompanied the expedition, chanted praises to the Most High, and went through other solemn ceremonies, in presence of a number of the natives, who contemplated the scene with calmness and respect, and who preserved the most profound silence." No, Andrew Jackson was not a man to tell a falsehood as to where the Mississippi River was and then set up a cross and chant praises while enslaving Indians and hiring them to break their engagements. Then, when Bienville had put up his fort he went into the Georgia country with a small squad of followers and exhorted the Creeks "to form alliances with the French colony of Louisiana, and to expel the English who should attempt to form posts among them."[1] In 1715 the French formed a settlement at Natchez and arrested an "English officer from Carolina, named Hutchey," whom they caused to lose his life by murder. Bienville stirred up the Alabamas and Muscogees against the English and forced the Choctaws to kill one of their chiefs named Ontactachito, for introducing "the English into their nation," and send hm the head of that chief. He enticed the principal chiefs of the Natchez to Mobile under pretence of friendly agreements, seized them, imprisoned them, threatened them, put them in irons, and forced them to kill several of their nation while the French killed others, all upon the allegation that some Natchez Indians had murdered some Frenchmen. He compelled the Natchez to help him build a French

[1] Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 207-227.

fort at their town.[2] In 1717 Crozat surrendered his agreement with heavy losses. The French King then entered into a somewhat similar agreement with the "Western or India Company for trading in Louisiana and Canada."[3] The territory to which, under the name of Louisiana, this agreement referred embraced the area drained by the Mississippi River and thus included all land originally in Buncombe County and what is now included in that county other than a small body on Broad River east of the Blue Ridge recently added to that county. As this agreement was the beginning of the greatest "boom" or speculating fraud known to history and famous under the names of "The Mississippi Scheme, The System, The Mississippi Bubble, and Law's Bubble," it is strange that no one seems to have observed that its foundation included Buncombe County in extent and that if that celebrated fraud had finally succeeded that county would probably be French today. John Law was a Scotchman, remarkable for proficiency in arithmetic and algebra, who was a fop, a gambler, a murderer, and a fugitive from justice. Convicted for the murder in a duel of Edward Wilson, with his capital sentence commuted to manslaughter, he escaped, gambled through Europe, promulgated financial schemes, founded a bank in Paris, acquired great reputation as a financier, conceived a colonization plan to surpass the East India Company of England, and persuaded the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, to convey to him and his associates, in August, 1717, the Louisiana country which included the immense region on the waters of the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri Rivers, under the designation for the company of Compagnie l'Occident. His company in August, 1718, acquired a monopoly of tobacco, in December the trading rights and ships and merchandise of the Company of Senegal, in March, 1719, the East India and China companies, in June the African Company. Now called the Compagnie des Indes, in July, 1719, the French mint was put into its control; in August it undertook to pay off the bulk of the French national debt; in a short time the functions of receivers general were assigned to it; and collection and disposal of all taxes were committed to Law.

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[2]Ibid., 227-239.
[3]Ibid., 240-244.

He promised large dividends and enormous profits to shareholders. His plans reached their acme in 1719-1720. Provincials and foreigners, noblemen and common people invested in Law's company. Enormous fortunes were made in a few hours, the "highest in the land courted Law in the hope of a promise to be allowed to participate in each new issue of shares," which rose to nineteen hundred per centum above par and received a dividend of forty per centum. Law threatened to break the Bank of England and the English East India Company and to destroy England and Holland and compelled the recall of the British Ambassador to Paris. On February 23, 1720, his company and bank were united. Law was controller-general of finances.

Then came the collapse. Liabilities were repudiated and confiscation took place in May, 1720, and Law was deprived of his place as controller-general, was insulted, his house was attacked, and he was forced to leave the country and all his property confiscated. He wandered over Germany and Italy, went to Constantinople, then to England and was pardoned for the murder of Edward Wilson, and died poor and a gambler at Venice, March 21, 1729.[4]

Bienville founded New Orleans in March, 1718. Four leagues square of land on Arkansas River were assigned to Law for fifteen hundred German settlers who did not come. Bienville captured Pensacola from the Spaniards in 1719 but it was soon retaken by the Spaniards and then retaken by the French. In August, 1722, the garrison at Fort Toulouse mutinied and killed Marchand, their commander, but were reduced and some killed in fight and the others executed. In that year the management of the French colony was committed to three commissioners. In January, 1723, Bienville reported that his allies, the Choctaws, "had destroyed three towns of the Chickasaws, and had brought to him nine hundred prisoners and four hundred scalps." He attacked the Natchez in October and "returned after having terminated the second war with them by procuring the heads of the principal offenders" charged with killing some Frenchmen.[5]

Perrier now became governor of Louisiana. He wrote:

[4] 11 Lee's Distionary of National Biography, 1909, 671-675; 16 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Thirteenth Edition, 297-299; 6 Chambers's Encyclopaedia, 1867, 59.
[5] 1 Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 244-271.

"The English continue to urge their commerce into the very heart of the province. Sixty or seventy horses, laden with merchandize, have passed into the country of the Chickasaws, to which nation I have given orders to plunder the English of their goods, promising to recompense them by a present . . . I thought it was for our interest not to have the English so near us, and, in consequence, informed the Tallapoosas who were before Pensacola, that if they did not immediately retire, I should attack them with those nations who were friendly to us . . . At the same time taking the liberty to represent that our sole effort should be to prevent the English from approaching us . . . I shall take measures, with them (the Choctaws and the Chickasaws) to prevent the English from entering our territory during the ensuing year, and by degrees to abolish the custom which they have formed, of trading for all the deer-skins obtained by the Indians, in order that the latter may not be obligated to trade with the British to get rid of them."[8] Surely these self-constituted autocrats of all America were "riding to a fall" with certainty and precipitancy. The French commandant at Natchez concluded to make a settlement and chose for its site an Indian village called White Apple, demanding of the Indians there that they remove. The Natchez decided to endure no more French insolence and secretly made preparations to put the French to death. One of their women who had been paramour to a Frenchman induced her half-breed son to disclose to her the secret and then betrayed her people. The Choctaws promised to assist in the extermination of the French. Nevertheless the Natchez succeeded in slaughtering more than two hundred of their French oppressors. The Indians there, trusting to the promises of the Choctaws, were drinking and carousing when they were attacked by seven hundred treacherous Choctaws on January 27, 1730, who killed many of them. On February 8 the French and a number of Indian allies arrived; but agreed to withdraw on the surrender by the Natchez of their prisoners, hoping to entrap the Natchez. Those Indians, suspecting this treachery left their fort and, in the night crossed the Mississippi

[8]Ibid., 271-272.

River. Then they established themselves "upon the lower Washita, on the point between the Little river and the Washita, just below the mouth of the Little river where the Washita assumes the name of Black river." Others took refuge among the Chickasaws, others in Alabama and some among the Cherokees in North Carolina near the Georgia border. In November, 1731, the French attacked the Natchez on Black River with the French troops and one thousand Indian allies, drove the Natchez out from their place of refuge and went back to New Orleans with four hundred and twenty-seven captives whom they carried to Hispaniola and sold as slaves. Some Natchez Indians who escaped in the attack at Black River assailed furiously a French settlement on Red River but were repulsed. "This was the closing scene in the Natchez drama and ended the existence of these brave Indians as a distinct tribe." Some of the Natchez prisoners were publicly burned by Perrier, the French governor, in the streets of New Orleans. "The noble Creeks, upon the Coosa, received some of the refugees with open arms, while the still nobler Chickasaws not only welcomed others to their doors, but swore to shed the blood of their pursuers, in a protracted war." The Carolina English from about Charleston sent an expedition of traders and adventurers, with seventy pack-horses laden chiefly with munitions of war "which went to the Chickasaws," passing by the town of Coosa, then situated in the territory of the present county of Talladega, in Alabama. They "prevailed upon some of the refugee Natchez to accompany them, and to assist in repelling the French invasion, which, it was known, was then contemplated. Arriving in the Chickasaw nation, they dispersed over the country, and not a few of them found their way to the towns of the Choctaws." In March, 1733, Bienville was sent back from France and prepared for an invasion of the Chickasaw country, while parties of Natchez executed summary vengeance on the brutal French wherever they caught a French trader, trapper, or hunter. The perfidious Choctaws had professed to have tired of the French but now again

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[1]Ibid., 274-303; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902. 83, 234, 499, 387; W. H. Sparks's Memories of Fifty Years. 1870, 253-265; Gayerre's History of Louisiana, 1854, 286-352; A. S. Gatschet's Migration Legend of the Creeks. 1884, 34-39, 122, 145, 228; Adair's History of the American Indians, 1775, 257.

entered their service. In arranging for invading the Chickasaws, Bienville erected a fort on the Little Tombigby, Choctaws helping.[8]

The French army of invaders went from New Orleans to Mobile and from that place started in boats up Mobile River and Tombigby River and Little Tombigby River to the new "Tanbecbe Fort," Indians, negroes French and all, five hundred and fifty men besides six hundred Indians. Marching forward they passed the present Columbus, Mississippi, and, at what later became Cotton Gin Port, landed and built a stockaded place where they left their baggage and sick with a garrison, they reached the vicinity of the Chickasaw towns. The Chickasaws had well fortified themselves, assisted in this "by Englishmen, who had caused them to hoist a flag of their country over one of their defences." The French troops, as they advanced, were not a little surprised to see the British Lion, against which many of them had often fought in Europe, now floating over the rude huts of American Indians, and bidding them defiance.

For years these Lords of the Gulf Coast had wished an opportunity to assail the Chickasaws because those Indians declined to accept French dictation and, like the Choctaws, become slaves to these arrogant Europeans. The experience of the Spaniards under DeSoto among the Chickasaws was forgotten or ignored. For years these same lordly individuals had ardently desired a chance to chastise the English from Carolina because those English insisted upon trading where the self-important French desired them not to trade. Surely these Frenchmen had short memories to have so soon forgotten the lessons of Ramillies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet and Blenheim. Their long-cherished wishes were now gratified. They were face to face in battle-front with the disobedient Chickasaws and the daring Carolina English. Their commander was "the great and good Bienville," accompanied by his chanting priest; and they had travelled many miles through wilderness and swamps in order to secure this meeting and "the great and good" had made large and long preparation and was ready.

The Chickasaws had fortified their houses by surround-

[8] Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 328-334.

ing them with large stakes driven into the ground while numerous loopholes were near the bottoms of the houses. Deep entrenchments intervened between the palisades and the houses and furnished breastworks for the defenders. Plastered with mud on top the houses could not be ignited thereby bombs or arrows. It was now May 26, 1736. The invaders attacked furiously and set fire to some of the houses. This fight of Ackia lasted three hours. The French were completely whipped. They retreated to their camps and next day for the fort on Little Tombigby which they reached on the 29th, having, as they started their retreat, seen the limbs of Frenchmen dangling from the Chickasaw ramparts and French dead strewing the earth on the field of battle. Bienville continued his retreat to Mobile.

In preparing for his invasion Bienville had notified a French officer named D'Artaguette, commander of the French fort in the district of Illinois, to collect all French and Indian forces available to him and join Bienville at a certain time and place. D'Artaguette collected his forces at Fort Chatres, floated down the Mississippi River to the last of the Chickasaw Bluffs, disembarked there, marched eastward among the sources of the Yalobusha to a place near that at which he was to have met Bienville. Not finding the latter arrived, after eleven days D'Artaguette concluded to attack the Chickasaws neighborhood where the refugee Natchez now lived. With his force of one hundred and thirty Frenchmen and three hundred and sixty Indians, he made his attack on May 20, 1736. Thirty Englishmen and five hundred Indians rose from concealment and assailed him, putting his Miami and Illinois Indians to flight; and then the invaders were all routed and D'Artaguette and his priest and eighteen companions were wounded and captured, while the other invaders escaped in a violent storm to the Mississippi River. The Chickasaws captured the baggage of the French, eleven horses. four hundred and fifty pounds of powder and twelve hundred bullete. This ammunition they used a few days later to repel the invader Bienville. When these Chickasaws learned of the defeat of the latter a few days afterwards, they burned D'Artaguette and his priest and fifteen others, sparing one soldier to carry the news to

Bienville.[9] Bienville roasted no Chickasaws or English in the streets of New Orleans. He lost favor with the French king and the West India Company.

He organized another expedition against the Chickasaws, sailed up the Mississippi River to Fort Saint Francis, marched to a place near the mouth of Margot or Wolf River remained there until he lost many of his soldiers by disease and famine. With the remainder Celeron invaded the Chickasaw country and made peace with that people in March, 1740, by the terms of which they were to expel the English traders. In May, 1743, Bienville went to France and died there in 1768.[10]

From the frequent clashes between the English and the French in North America it was obvious that sooner or later war between those two nations would follow. Next to "religion" commerce has occasioned more wars than anything else in human history. In the early settlement of North America the trade with Indian tribes for peltries led to frequent antagonisms between the traders of these two European peoples who for centuries had been inimical to each other and often at war. These traders approached the Southern Indians, the English from the Atlantic coast going westward and the French from the Mississippi River going eastward. Inevitably they met. As certainly the lands on which the Indians resided became subjects of dispute between the two nations. The English claim to these lands embraced all the country between the Atlantic Ocean and the South Seas (Pacific Ocean.) The French claim embraced all the lands watered by the Mississippi River and its tributaries and to the west thereof. Thus much of what is now in the United States was claimed by both and neither had any idea of conceding anything of these claims to the other. After the close of the "King George's War," (1744-1748) between Great Britain and her American colonies, on one side, and France and her American colonies, on the other side, really a part of the "War of the American Succession,"[11] there was a nominal peace between them for a while; but their claims were irreconcilable and war followed. This

[9]Ibid., 334-353.
[10]Ibid., 354-358.
[11]7 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 117.

new war is known in America as the "French and Indian War"; but it became merged in the "Seven Years War" of Europe (1756-1763) between Austria, Russia, France, Spain and Saxony, on the one hand, and Great Britain, Prussia, and some smaller States of Europe on the other hand.[13] In the French and Indian War the chief ground of original controversy was as to the ownership of that region, now in the United States, immediately west of the Appalachian Mountains which was claimed by the British and claimed by the French. In 1749 Celeron took formal possession for the French King, Louis XV, of the Ohio Valley, and in 1753 Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent Major George Washington to warn the French to vacate that region. In that year the French established Fort Duquesne where is now Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Washington was sent in April, 1754, from Virginia to drive them out. He encountered the French at Great Meadows, was beaten and forced to surrender at Fort Necessity. This began the war known as the "French and Indian War," although England did not formally declare war until May 18, 1756. It has been said that "the firing of a gun in the woods of North America brought on a conflict which drenched Europe in blood." It might be added that it changed the tenor of the world's history.[14]

In 1752, while this war was brewing, the Chickasaws again became the friends of the English. The French still thought it well to discipline these Chickasaws. The French Marquis de Vaudrevil determined to undertake this duty and, in its discharge, to invade the Chickasaw country. He then organized an army, embarked in boats at Mobile and proceeded up the Tombigby River to "Fort Tombecbe." After a few days he went to the place where Bienville had disembarked, landed, and marched with his army of French and Choctaws to the Chickasaw towns. He stormed these towns, was defeated, lost many of his men, retreated to his boats at Cotton Gin Port, thence to "Fort Tombecbe," thence to Mobile, satisfied that may be it was about as well for the Chickasaws to go without disciplining anyhow.[14] In 1754 the British secured the assistance of the Iroquois, or Five Na-

[13]11 Ibid., 119.
[14]5 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 215.
[14]1 Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 358-359.

tions. General Edward Braddock in 1755 led the British forces to attack Fort Du Quesne but was completely defeated by a force of French and Indians, on July of that year at a place where he fell into an ambush eight miles before reaching the fort. An expedition in the same year by the British against Nova Scotia succeeded when the Acadians were carried off. Expeditions then conducted against Crown Point and Fort Niagara failed when the British sought to reduce those places. So too, in 1756 and 1757 the French under Montcalm repelled British assaults in the Canada neighborhood while the French took Oswego and Fort William Henry. In 1758 the British under General Amherst captured Louisburg and under General Bradstreet captured Fort Frontenac, and under General Forbes captured Fort Duquesne on its abandonment by the French; while General Abercrombie was repulsed at Ticonderoga. Then in 1759 the British under General Wolfe defeated Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham when both Wolfe and Montcalm were killed. In July and August of the same year Ticonderoga and Crown Point, abandoned by the French, were occupied by the British General Amherst, Fort Niagara was then occupied by the British under Sir William Johnson, and the British took Quebec on September 18, 1759. Montreal was surrendered to them under General Amherst on September 8, 1760. Then the war in America closed in active operations. The treaty of peace was made at Paris in 1763. It ended the entire "Seven Years War" in which was included the end of the "French and Indian War" in America. By the terms of that treaty Canada fell to Great Britain.[15] By other of that treaty's provisions there were concessions bearing more directly on the territory which became Buncombe County.

On November 3, 1762, France entered into a secret treaty with her ally, Spain, in which she ceded to Spain the territory claimed by France on the western side of the Mississippi River from its mouth to its sources and the Island of New Orleans on the eastern side of that river and south of the Bayou Iberville or Manchac. In the general treaty of peace, made at Paris on February 18, 1763, France ceded

[15] Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 215-216.

to Great Britain "all her Canadian possessions, and all that portion of Louisiana which lies on the eastern side of the Mississippi river, from its sources down to Bayou Iberville, which bayou, with a portion of the Amite, and a line through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea, was to form the southern boundary. France also ceded to England the port and river of Mobile. Spain ceded to Great Britain her province of Florida."[16] Of course, such cessions of controverted territory convey no more than the claim to the territory of the nation making the cession. Up to this treaty the British claim involved for its western border the Pacific Ocean; but since the treaty the British claim recognized as in it agreed, the thread or middle course of the Mississippi River as its western border.[17] "The Havannah was exchanged with Spain for the Floridas.[18] Strangely enough the claim to extend westward to the Pacific Ocean (South Seas) was revived by North Carolina at the time of the making of her first constitution, in an instrument adopted as a "Declaration of Rights" at Halifax, North Carolina, December 17, 1776, when it was asserted therein that the northern and southern boundaries of that State should run "a west course, so far as is mentioned in the charter of King Charles the Second, to the late proprietors of Carolina."[19] The western limit mentioned in said charters being "the south seas."[20] This claim seems to have been abandoned or more properly transferred, when North Carolina, by act of 1789, ceded "to the United States of America, all right, title and claim which this State has to the sovereignty and territory of the lands situate within the chartered limits of this State, west of a line," which afterwards separated North Carolina from Tennessee.[21] Possibly the assertion was due to a claim that had begun to be advanced by Maryland and other States with limited western extension that the unsettled lands of States having greater western extension should or did belong to all the States.

Thus by the treaty of Paris of February 18, 1763, the

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[16]2 J. Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 1-2.
[17]1 John Marshall's George Washington, 1804, 564-566.
[18]Ibid., 568-569.
[19]1 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1855, 10.
[20]2 Ibid., 438, 1-2.
[21]Ibid., 171-172.

French claim to any portion of the present Buncombe County territory came to an end.

Throughout the time of their dominion on the Mississippi River and the coast of the Gulf of Mexico the French had continuously put forth strenuous efforts to secure the trade with the Indians, not only among tribes not theretofore visited by white traders but also among tribes with which for many years white traders from the Carolinas and Virginia had regularly sustained commercial relations. They threatened the British traders, ordered them to stay away, menaced and maltreated Indians who dealt with these British merchants, bribed the Indians to exclude traders who were not French, and procured the persecution and annoyance of any Indian of whom they learned that he was not inimical to the Carolinas in particular. In order to effect this purpose they frequently sent out emissaries, priests and others, to settle among them, keep watch on all that occurred there, and constantly exercise themselves to persuade the Indians to break treaty and commercial agreements and obigations with men from South Carolina. This was accomplished under the guise of "carrying the cross to the heathen," so often made a subject of eulogy, and telling the Indians that the English had murdered Jesus, the especial friend of the red men, and similar silly untruths so dear to certain classes of religionists in relation to many subjects.

When, in 1714, the French and their priests and Indians built Fort Toulouse on Coosa River near the Talapoosa, in the vicinity of the site of the present City of of Montgomery, Alabama, they established themselves in the centre of the southern district of the large and lucrative Indian trade, and from that centre extended their merchantile operations in all directions, while they instigated savages to commit depredations and murder upon other white people. Soon the South Carolinians began to feel strongly the results of these machinations and unscrupulous rivalries that employed the priest and invoked the tomahawk and scalping-knife.[22] The Board of Trade in London reported in 1721 to

[22]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokees, 1902, 34-35 and map between 22 and 25; 2 Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1858, 232-233; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 337, 340-341.

the British King that: "The Indians Nations lying between Carolina and the French settlements on the Mississippi are about 9200 fighting men of which number 3400 whom we formerly traded with are entirely debauched to the French Interest by their new settlement and Fort at Albamas. About 2000 more that lye between your majesty's subjects and those of the French King, Trade at present indifferently with both, but it is to be feared that these likewise will be debauched by the French unless proper means be used to keep them in your Majesty's Interest."[23] Governor James Glen of South Carolina in 1746, said of Fort Toulouse, called by him "Fort Halbama," that it, "has always been a thorn in the side of this colony."[24] "The French still bent on their grand scheme of uniting their possessions on the Gulf of Mexico, with those of Canada on the north, erected, in rapid succession, after the completion of Fort Toulouse, Fort Tombeckbe among the Choctaws, Fort Assumption on the Chickasaw Bluff, and Paducah at the mouth of the Cumberland River, besides numerous other trading houses along the Tennessee, in close proximity to the Cherokees and Catawbas; the former occupying a position in the midst of their mountain barriers, on the immediate border of Carolina, which had long been regarded as the key to that province. The French knew this, quite as well as the public guardians of the people, who were most interested, and were now ready to take the last step—the reduction of their alliance and amity of the Cherokees, preliminary to the successful invasion and ultimate ruin of Carolina."[25] The forts on which the French relied to connect their Canada possessions with their possessions in Louisiana and its vicinity were Fort Duquesne and the forts on Lake "Ontario at Niagara, the Illinois, the Chickasaw bluffs, the Yazous, Natches, Pointe Coupee and New Orleans,"[26] as has been stated.

"We found in the manuscript records the account given by the Cherokees themselves, of the first adventure made

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[23] 2 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 383-422; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 35.

[24] 2 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1858, 294.

[25] Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 333-334; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 45-46; 2 Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations, 1902 Editions, 34.

[26] F X. Martin's History of Louisiana, 1827, 319.

by the French among them in prosecution of these plans. They pushed a boat, loaded with goods and presents, as high up the Tennessee as they could approach in that manner the over-hill settlements and going boldly into one of the towns, proposed to hold a conference with the head-men. The Indians appeared to assent, the chiefs were assembled and a scaffold erected, no doubt at the request of the French, in accordance with their notions of public dignity. On this the head-men and their new visitors took their seats with great solemnity and entered upon the business that had brought the latter into the Nation.

"All, in a short time, seemed greatly interested in the animated French talk, when suddenly the indignant warriors springing up, drew their tomahawks, and cut them all off with their friendly Indian interpreters; after which they threw their dead bodies from the scaffold and dragged them into the river. This account was preserved by a conjurer, who appears to have been an eye-witness of the scene. It is further related that this rebuff so discouraged the French that for many years, they made no more attempts to entice the Cherokees from their alliance and commerce with the English."[27] Bernard de la Harpe, in his historical journal of the establishment of the French in Louisiana, says that, "in January, 1716, some of the Cheraquis Indians, who lived northeast of Mobile, killed Mm. de Ramsey and de Lonqueil. Some time after that the father of the latter gentleman, the King's lieutenant in Canada, engaged the Iroquois to surprise this tribe. They sacked two of their villages and obliged the rest to retreat toward New England."[28] This may or may not have reference to the event of which Logan gives the foregoing account as that of the first advent of the French among the Cherokees.

Prior to 1714 the French had begun to trade with the Shawanees or Shawonoes on the Cumberland River which they called the river of the Chonanons (Shawanoes).[29] In 1714 "M. Charleville, a French trader from Crozat's colony at New-Orleans, came among the Shawanees then inhabiting the country upon the Cumberland river, and traded

[27]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 372-374.
[28]Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1883-1884, 140.
[29]2 B. F. French's Historial Collections of Louisiana, 1850, William De l'Isle's map.

with them. His store was built upon a mound near the present site of Nashville, on the west side of Cumberland river near French Lick Creek, and about seventy yards from each stream."[30]

It must have been that about this time the French made their first attempt to enter into commercial relations with the Cherokees in their town on the Tennessee River in the near neighborhood of the Shawnees on Cumberland River, since that was about the time at which the Cherokees and Chickasaws are said to have driven these Shawnees from the Cumberland River.[31] Possibly the known friendship between the Shawnees and the French led to the severe treatment extended to the French on the first attempt of French traders to go among the Cherokees. Possibly that treatment was due to reports of the conduct of these French in asserting domination of the Indian tribes near the French southern settlements. M. Pericaut, in his annals of Louisiana, mentions among his entries of 1702 that, "ten leagues from the mouth of this (Ohio) river another falls into it called Easquinempas (Tennessee.) It takes its source from the neighborhood of the Carolinas and passes through the village of the Cherokees, a populous nation that number some fifty thousand warriors." Among the events of 1708 he records that "about this time two Mobilians who had married in the Alibamon nation, and who lived among them with their families, discovered that that nation was inimical to the Mobilians as well as the French, and had made a league with the Cheraquis, the Abeikas, and the Conchaques to wage war against the French and Mobilians and burn their villages around our fort."[32]

The French, however, did not abandon all attempts to enlist the Cherokees among their allies, or servants which Indians in alliance with them soon became. Up to September, 1721, no success had attended such efforts, since at that time these Indians still regarded Frenchmen with feelings of enmity.[33] About 1728 a French Jesuit named De Guyenne undertook to establish a mission among the Cherokees and

[30]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1843, 45; Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1883-84, 144.
[31]Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1883-1884, 144.
[32]Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1883-1884,139.
[33]2 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 422.

built a cabin in each of two of their villages in order to learn their language and teach them the religion of his church and society and render them French allies. Then Indians demolished the houses and expelled the priest.[34] It is not stated whether or not his religious instruction was that said to have been given in 1694 to Indians by some French in the North, "Bommaseen was with other Indians now a prisoner in Boston. He desired a conference with a minister of Boston, which was granted him. Bommazeen, with the other Indians assenting and assenting to it, then told the minister that he prayed his instruction in the *Christian religion;* inasmuch as he was afraid that the French, in the Christian religion which they taught the Indians, had abused them. The minister inquired of him what of the things taught 'em by the French appear'd most suspicious to 'em? He said the French taught 'em that the Lord *Jesus Christ* was of the *French* nation; that his mother, the Virgin Mary, was a French lady; that they were the English who had murdered him; and that whereas he rose from the dead, and went up to the heavens, all that would recommend themselves unto his favor must revenge his quarrel upon the English as far as they can."[35] It would be interesting to learn what the Yankee "minister of Boston" actually told Bommazeen and the rest of 'em on this matter of ecclesiastical history. Whatever may have been the religious instructions imparted by these "reverend" individuals, the French influence among the Cherokees soon began to be manifest. The South Carolinians were aroused. It meant that, beside other things, South Carolina was in imminent danger of becoming a French conquest and a French colony. Several French emissaries were now among the Overhills, actively engaged in promoting the French plans. They assured the Indians that the English were a selfish and treacherous people who had sought the friendship of the Cherokees in order to betray them and with intent to finally withhold from them goods and ammunition and compel their wives and children to use ashes instead of salt, and deprive them of every comfort and means of defence until they were subjugated and their nation destroyed. These emissaries

[34]Father Le Petit—Kip's Early Jesuit Missions, 310.
[35]2 Cotton Mather's Magnalia, 1853, 629.

distributed presents among the Cherokee villages and promised more and better ones whenever the natives should have abandoned the English alliance and begun to procure goods and supplies from the French traders exclusively. Numerous "talks" were held. The Cherokees had been then so gained over to the French interest that there were obvious indications of an alliance between them and the Creeks, already attached to the French, and of a purpose, in conjunctions with these Creeks and the French to attack the Carolina people as soon as an opportunity could be found.[86] This would have been to retort upon South Carolinians the tactics by which in emulation of previous French attempts to array against them Choctaws and even Chickasaws, they had engaged the Chickasaws and other Indians to massacre French settlers on the Mississippi River and Gulf coast.[87] Arthur Middleton, then Governor of South Carolina, sent Colonel George Chicken to the Cherokee towns to hold them to their alliance with the Carolinians. This succeeded.[88] It was in July and August, 1725 that Colonel George Chicken made a trip to the county of the Overhill Cherokees, that is the Cherokees west of the Appalachian Mountains. He passed through Elejoy (Ellijay), near the present Murphy in North Carolina, two miles from Little Tellico, crossed the mountains of Conustee and Little Tellico and Beaver Dam to Great Tellico and to Tunisee (Tenasee or Tennessee), and held a conference or conferences of amity with the headmen of Tunisee, Terriquo, (Tellico), Tallassee, Suittico (Settico) and Coosaw on the western side of the mountains, now in the State of Tennessee, and of Elejoy, Tamautly (Tomotly) Cheeowee (Keowee) and Conustee (Connestee) on the eastern side of the mountains, now in North Carolina and South Carolina. Of this journey he left a journal.[89]

Still French agents were at work among the Cherokees: and those Indians could not be trusted. In 1730 Sir Alexander Cuming, a Scotchman in Charleston, of his own accord, went on a mission to the Cherokees to persuade them

[86]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina. 1859, 391-393.
[87]Ibid., 337-338.
[88]Ibid., 391-392.
[89]S. C. Williams's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, 97-104.

to become British subjects. [40] It was no difficult task to induce the Indians to consent to this. According to their lax ideas of government it meant only a ceremony and they ever delighted in showing formalities. It was quite another matter to induce them to observe a treaty or not to scalp and murder white people to revenge injuries frequent and grave committed without provocation against Cherokees. Sir Alexander Cuming was an erratic personage and his tour among the Cherokees savored of insanity. He marched through the Cherokee country in South Carolina and northeastern Georgia, passed in North Carolina down the Little Tennessee by way of the modern Franklin, crossed the Nantahala Mountains to Valley River and down that stream to Tomotly and thence to Beaverdam and over the Appalachian Mountains to Great Tellico and on to Great Tannassy (Tenase or Tennessee) on Little Tennessee River, among the Overhills. Then he returned to Charleston by the same route. On this tour he held conferences with the Cherokees, issued ridiculous orders which they obeyed, had them to perform numerous mummeries and genuflections, received their submissions as subjects of the British sovereign, appointed a viceroy over them, capered in long and solemn marches and parades through the woods and mountains, made and heard numerous talks, promulgated laws, and organized governments. The Indians enjoyed the whole absurd performance and were most wonderfully impressed with the greatness of the performer, although they did not comprehend what it all was about. On the way he ascertained that through their agent, Whitehead, a native of Paris, the French for two years had been trying to bring over the Lower Cherokees to their interest; that the Cherokees, especially, in the lower towns, had become hostile to the British while the Lower Creeks, now in French alliance, were seeking to persuade the Cherokees to join them against the British and were expecting to succeed in this effort on their return from a visit to their French friends; and that there were numerous unfriendly Indians among the Overhills. In this expedition Sir Alexander was accompanied by a large party of Charlestonians. On May 4, 1730,

[40] Ibid., 117.

he sailed for England from Charleston, carrying with him six Cherokee chiefs, and reached Dover on June 5. In London these chiefs were entertained, showed the power of the British sovereign, and compelled to execute a treaty, dated September 9, 1730, in which they acknowledged that they were subjects of King George the Second of Great Britain and their lands were his and they must obey him and would do numerous things particularly mentioned among which was a stipulation, "That the Cherokees shall not suffer their people to trade with the white men of any other Nation but the English nor permit white men of any other Nation to build any Forts, Cabins or plant any corn amongst them or near to any of the Indian towns or upon the land which belong to the Great King," and that the Cherokees, "must treat the English as brethren of the same family and must always be ready at the Governor's command to fight against any Nation whether they be white men or Indians who shall dare to molest or hurt the English."[42] In October, 1730, the Cherokee Chiefs were sent back to their own country.

Of course the Cherokees paid no attention whatever to this "treaty" and were as ready to welcome the French as ever. The capers of Sir Alexander Cuming in the mountain wilds of South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee were almost as preposterous as those of the Spanish priest when he, "said a gospel" over an Indian feigning insanity or those of the French priest when he "chanted praise" over the Fort Toulouse;; but Sir Alexander Cuming earned the good will of the Indians and, in that way, accomplished more than forced treaty or clerical farce. But the favorable impression produced by Cuming was forgotten by the time the Chiefs had returned.

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[42] 2 Hewitt's History of South Carolina, 1779, 11, 3-6; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 394-397; 402-400, 472, 423, 398-399, 481, 493; 1 The British Empire in America, 1741, 498-501, 517; 3 Colonial Records of North Carolina. 128, 202, 345, 129, 130, 131, 153, 500, 369; Drake's Embassy of Sir Alexander Cuming, 5-18; 2 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1858, 125-127; S. C. William's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, 115-143; Adair's American Indians, 1775, 50-51; 1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1907, 953.

CHAPTER VII

FRENCH CLAIM—CONTINUED

The French realized how little had been effected by this pompous nonsense of Cuming's visit and the "treaty" which followed it. "In the year 1736, the French sent into South Carolina," (North Carolina), "one Priber, a gentleman of curious and speculative temper. He was to transmit to them a full account of that country, and proceed to the Cherokee Nation, in order to seduce them from the British to the French interest. He went, and though he was adorned with every qualification that constituted the gentleman, soon after he arrived at the upper towns of this mountainous country, he exchanged clothes and everything he brought with him, and, by that means made friends with the head warriors of great Telliko, which stood on a branch of the Mississippi. More effectually to answer the design of this commission, he ate, drank, slept, danced, dressed, and painted himself, with the Indians, so that it was not easy to distinguish him from the natives—he married also with them, and being endowed with a strong understanding and retentive memory he soon learned their habits, and by gradual advances impressed them with a very ill opinion of the English, representing them as a fraudulent, avaricious and encroaching people; he at the same time, inflated these artless savages, with a prodigious high opinion of their own importance in the American scale of power, on account of the situation of their country, their martial disposition, and the great number of their warriors, which would baffle all the efforts of the ambitious, and ill-designing British colonists. Having thus infected them by his smooth deluding art, he easily formed them into a nominal republican government—crowned their old Archi-Magus, (Maybe Maytop otherwise called Old Hop.)[42] Emperor after a pleasing new savage form, and invented a variety of high-sounding titles for all the members of his imperial majesty's red court, and the great officers of state; which the emperor conferred upon them, in a man-

[42]See Adair's American Indians, 1775, 81; 2 Hewett's History of South Carolina and Georgia, 1779, 5.

ner according to their merit. He himself received the honourable title of his imperial majesty's principal secretary of state, and as such he subscribed himself, in all the letters he wrote to our government, and lived in open defiance of them. This seemed to be of so dangerous a tendency, as to induce South-Carolina to send up a commissioner, Colonel F - x (Fox), to demand him as an enemy to the public repose—who took him into custody, in the great square of their state-house: When he had almost concluded his oration on the occasion, one of the head warriors rose up, and bade him forbear, as the man he entended to enslave, was made a great beloved man, and became one of their own people. Though it was reckoned, our agent's strength was far greater in his arms than in his head, he readily desisted—for as it is too hardy to struggle with the Pope in Rome, a stranger could not miss to find it equally difficult to enter abruptly into a new emperor's court, and their seize his prime minister, by a foreign authority; especially when he could not support any charge of guilt against him. The warrior told him, that the red people well knew the honesty of the secretary's heart would never allow him to tell a lie; and the secretary urged that he was a foreigner, without owing any allegiance to Great Britain; that he only travelled through some places of their country, in a peaceable manner, paying for every thing that he had of them, that in compliance with the request of the kindly French, as well as from his own tender feelings for the poverty and insecure state of the Cherokees, he came a great way, and lived among them as a brother, only to preserve their liberties, by opening a water communication between them and New Orleans; that the distance of the two places from each other, proved his motive to be the love of doing good, especially as he was to go there, and bring up a sufficient number of Frenchmen of proper skill to instruct them in the art of making gunpowder, the materials of which he affirmed their lands abounded with. He concluded his artful speech, by urging that the tyrranical design of the English commissioner toward him, appeared plainly to be levelled against them, because, as he was not accused of having done any ill to the English, before he came to the Cherokee, his crime must consist in loving the

Cherokee. And as that was reckoned so heinous a transgression in the eye of the English, as to send one of the angry beloved men to enslave him, it confirmed all those honest speeches he had often spoken to the present great war-chiertains, old beloved men, and warriors of each class.

"An old war-leader repeated to the commissioner, the essential part of the speech, and added more of his own similar threats. He bade him to inform his superiors, that the Cheerake were as desirous as the English to continue friendly union with each other, as 'freemen and equals.' That they hoped to receive no farther uneasiness from them, for consulting their own interests, as their reason dictated. And they earnestly requested them to send no more of those bad papers to their country, on any account, nor to reckon them so base, as to allow any of their honest friends to be taken out of their arms, and carried into slavery. The English beloved man had the honour of receiving his leave of absence and a sufficient passport of safe conduct from the imperial red court, by a verbal order of the secretary of state, who was so polite as to wish him well home, and ordered a convoy, of his own life guards, who conducted him a considerable way, and he got home in safety.

"From the above, it is evident, that the monopolistic spirit of the French had planned their dangerous lines of circumvallation, respecting our envied colonies, as early as the before mentioned period. Their choice of the man, bespeaks also their judgment. Though the philosophic secretary was an utter stranger to the wild and mountainous Cheerake Country, as well as to their language, yet his sagacity readily directed him to chuse a proper place, and an old favorite religious man, for the new red empire, which he formed by slow, but sure degrees, to the great danger of our southern colonies. But the empire received a very great shock, in an accident that befell the secretary, when it was on the point of rising into a far greater state of puissance, by the acquisition of the Muskohge, Choktah, and the western Mississippi Indians. In the fifth year of that red imperial aera, he set off for Mobile, accompanied navigable part of the western great river of the Muskohge; by a few Cheerake. He proceeded by land, as far as a

there he went into a canoe prepared for the joyful occasion, and proceeded within a day's journey of Alabama garrison (Fort Toulouse) conjecturing the adjacent towns were under the influence of the French, he landed at Tallapoosa town, and lodged there all night. The traders of the neighbouring towns soon went there, convinced the inhabitants of the dangerous tendency of his unwearied labours among the Cheerake, and of his present journey, and then took him into custody, with a large bundle of manuscripts, and sent him down to Frederica, in Georgia, the governor (Oglethorpe) committed him to a place of confinement, though not with common felons, as he was a foreigner, and was said to have held a place of considerable rank in the army with great honour. Soon after, the magazine took fire, which was not far from the place where he was confined, and though the sentinels bade him make off to a place of safety, as all the people were running to avoid danger from the explosion of the powder and shells, yet he squatted on his belly upon the floor, and continued in that position, without the least hurt; several blamed his rashness, but he told them, that experience had convinced him, it was the most probable means to avoid imminent danger. This incident displayed the philosopher and soldier, and after bearing his misfortunes a considerable time with great constancy, happily for us, he died in confinement, though he deserved a much better fate. In the first year of his secretaryship I maintained a correspondence with him, but the Indians becoming very inquisitive to know the contents of our large marked papers, and he suspecting his memory might fail him in telling those cunning sifters of truth, a plausible story, and of being able to repeat it often to them, without any variation, he took the shortest and safest method, by telling them that, in the very same manner as he was their great secretary, I was the devil's clerk, or an accursed one who marked on paper the bad speech of the evil ones of darkness. Accordingly, they forbade him writing anymore to such an accursed one, or receiving any of his evil-marked papers, and our correspondence ceased. As he was learned, and possessed of a very sagacious penetrating judgment, and had every qualification that was requisite for his bold and difficult enterprize,

it is not to be doubted, that as he wrote a Cheerake dictionary, designed to be published in Paris, he likewise set down a great deal that would have been very acceptable to the curious, and serviceable to the representatives of South Carolina and Georgia, which may be readily found in Frederica, if the manuscripts have had the good fortune to escape the despoiling hands of military power."[1]

Such was the account of a most remarkable person as given by a contemporary and correspondent who was himself a man of education and learning as well as a trader among the Southern Indians of forty-years' experience in trading with the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees, Catawbas, Shawbas, Shawanoes, and others, and an author and leading authority on early history of those tribes.[2] This Christian Priber was a German by birth, a Jesuit, a Frenchman in feeling, a soldier, a diplomat, and withal a man of wonderful abilities, culture, erudition, attainments, and sersatility.[3]

"While Oglethorpe was thus engaged in Florida, a plot was discovered among the Indians, which threatened serious consequences to all the southern colonies. This was occasioned by the artful intrigue of a German Jesuit named Christian Priber, who was employed by the French to spy out the condition of the English provinces, and to seduce the Cherokees from their allegiance to the English. He went up into the nation in 1736, and conforming at once to all their manners and customs, made himself master of their language, and gradually insinuated into their minds a distrust of their allies, a love for the French, and such notions of independence and importance as made them fit to assert rights never before claimed, and which he knew would not be conceded; and upon this anticipated refusal, he based his scheme of bringing them to an open rupture with the English. Acting upon their vanity, he got up what in the eyes of the savages was a splendid coronation scene, in which he crowned the Chief as King of the confederated towns, and bestowed upon the other headmen and warriors such pompous titles as flattered their pride and stimulated

[1] James Adair's American Indians, 1775, 240-243.
[2] Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 347; 4 National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1897, 536.
[3] Grahame's Colonial History of the United States, 1852 Edition, 138; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina. 1859, 403.

their ambition. Priber was appointed royal Secretary to the King of the Cherokees, and under this official title corresponded with the English Indian agents and the colonial governments. An attempt was made by South Carolina to secure him and Colonel Fox was sent up as a commissioner to demand him of the Indian authorities, but he had so ingratiated himself with them that they refused, and with such a spirit and resentment that the commissioner was compelled to return without securing his prey. His ascendency over the nation was great. He used the Indians as the tools of his machinations, and they looked upon him with feelings of profound veneration, and professed subservience to his scheme of linking their interest to that of the French on the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. His plans, however, were defeated by his capture at the Tallapoose town, when within a day's journey of the French garrison, to which he was hastening.

"Thus secured by the traders, he was sent down with all his papers, under a strong Indian guard to Frederica, to be judged and punished as Oglethorpe should direct. On the return of the general from Florida, he ordered his strange prisoner to be examined, and was not a little surprised to find under his coarse dress of deer skins and Indian moccasins, a man of polished address, great abilities, and extensive learning. He was versed not only in the Indian language, of which he had composed a dictionary, but also spoke the Latin, French, and Spanish fluently, and English perfectly. Upon being interrogated as to his design, he acknowledged that it was to bring about the confederation of all the Southern Indians, to inspire them with industry, to instruct them in the arts necessary to the commodities of life, and, in short, to engage them to throw off the yoke of their European allies of all nations, he proposed to make a settlement in that part of Georgia which is within the limits of the Cherokee lands at Cusseta, and to settle a town there of fugitive English, French and Germans; and they were to take under their particular care the run away negroes of the English. All criminals were to be sheltered, as he proposed to make his place an asylum for all fugitives, and the cattle and effects they might bring with them. He expected a great resort of debtors, transported felons, ser-

vants and negro slaves from the two Carolinas, Georgia, and Virginia, offering as his scheme did toleration to all crimes and licentiousness, except murder and idleness. Upon his person was found his private journal, revealing, in part, his designs, with various memoranda relating to his project. In it he speaks not only of the individual Indians and negroes, whose assistance had been promised, and of a private treasurer in Charleston for keeping the funds collected, but also that he expected many things from the French, and from another nation whose name he left blank. There were also found upon him letters for the Florida and Spanish Governors, demanding their protection of him, and countenance of his scheme. Among his papers was one containing articles of government for his new town, regularly and elaborately drawn out and digested. In this volume he enumerates many rights and privileges, as he calls them, to which the citizens of this colony are to be entitled, particularly dissolving marriages, allowing a community of women; and all kinds of licentiousness. It was drawn up with much art, method, and learning; and was designed to be privately printed and circulated. When it was hinted to him that such a plan was attended with many dangers and difficulties, and must necessarily require many years to establish his government, he replied: 'Proceeding properly, many of these evils may be avoided. And as to length of time, we have a succession of agents to take up the work as fast as others leave it. We never lose sight of a favorite point; nor are we bound by the strict rules of morality in the means, when the end we pursue is laudable. If we err, our general is to blame; and we have a merciful God to pardon us.' 'But, believe me,' he continued, 'before this century is passed, the Europeans will have a very small footing on this continent.' Indeed, he often hinted that there were others of his brethern labouring among the Indians for the same purpose. Being confined in the barracks of Frederica, he exhibited a stoical indifference to his fate, conversed with freedom, conducted with politeness, and attracted the notice and favourable attentions of many of the gentlemen there. His death in prison put an end to all further proceedings, and his plans died with him.

"Such was the strange being, whose Jesuitical intrigues well nigh eventuated in the destruction of Georgia. A thorough Jesuit, an accomplished linquist, a deep tactician, far sighted in his plans, and far-reaching in his expedients, he possessed every qualification for his design, and only failed of bringing down great evil upon the English, because he was apprehended before his scheme had been matured."[4]

The odious plan of this accomplished malefactor failed. When "viewed in relation to the late effort of the English Government to convert the Cherokees into loyal subjects of King George, it looks very like a plan of the skillful enchanter to foil them by a resort to their own arts, but with far superior abilities and opportunity to secure success."[5] Priber was the answer of the French to Sir Alexander Cumming. Insane villany was pitted against insane folly. The insane folly is rarely seen; the insane villany often. In 1741 a Frenchman, Antoine Bonnefoy, captured by the Cherokees in the Ohio River near the mouth of the Wabash, was taken, it seems, to Tellico, where he found Priber and was kindly treated by him. Priber was there known as Pierre Albert, and was planning to establish his new empire with its headquarters half-way between the Cherokees and the Alabamons in the present Alabama.[6] Probably this was the place called by Stevens "Cusseta." Apparently there was no Cherokee town so named. There was a Creek town called Cusseta on the Chattahoochie River.[7]

"The superior policy of the French so highly intoxicated the light heads of the Cheerake, that they were plotting mischief for twenty years before we forced them to commit hostilities."[8] Adair declares that "the Cheerake are now a nest of apostate hornets,"[9] whatever an "Apostate" hornet maybe. Much of Adair's book is denunciation against French turpitude in their conduct in the South toward the Carolinians and Indians. In speaking of an old acquaintance who was an Indian-trader he says that he "was killed on the old Chikkasah, or America-Flanders path, in company with

[4] Steven's History of Georgia, 1847, 164; 1 Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 318-327.
See 1 C. C. Jones's History of Georgia, 1883, 281-383.
[5] Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 403-411, 404.
[6] S. C. Williams's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, 149-156.
[7] 1 Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 324; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 199.
[8] Adair's American Indians, 1775, 240.
[9] Ibid., 81.

another expert brave man, in the year 1745, by twenty Choktah savages, set on by the Christian French of Tumbikpe garrison, in consequence of which, I staid by myself the following summer-season, in the Chikkasah country, and when the rest of the trading people and all our horses were gone down to the English settlements, I persuaded the Choktah to take up the bloody tomahawk against those perfidious French, in revenge of a long train of crying blood; and had it not been for the self-interested policy of a certain governor, those numerous savages, with the warlike Chikkasah, would have destroyed the Mississippi settlements, root and branch, except those who kept themselves closely confined in garrison.[10]

"When the western Cheerake towns lost the chief support of their imperial court, they artfully agreed to inform the English traders, that each of them had opened their eyes, and rejected the French plan as a wild scheme, inconsistent with their interests; except great Tellico, the metropolis of their late empire, which they said was firmly resolved to adhere to the French proposals, as the surest means of promoting their welfare and happiness. Though the inhabitants of this town were only dupes to the rest, yet for the sake of the imagined general good of the country, their constancy enabled them to use that disguise a long time, in contempt of the English, till habit changed into a real hatred of the object, what before was only fictitious. They corresponded with the French in the name of those seven towns, which are the most warlike part of the nation."[11]

"The French to draw off the western towns, had given them repeated assurances of settling a strong garrison on the northside of their river, as high up as their pettiangres could be brought with safety.[12] Anyhow the French continued to exert their influence with the Cherokees against the Carolinians. In 1754 this French activity was a subject of complaint to the latter;[13] "that the French priests were poisoning the minds of those Indians against us, who live among the Apalache Mountains," and by "the diligence of

[10]Ibid., 239.
[11]Ibid., 243-244.
[12]Ibid., 244.
[13]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 422-426.

the French, their Indians entered into a treaty of friendship with the Cheerake, and their country became the rendezvous of the red pupils of the black Jesuits. Hence they ravaged South Carolina, beginning at the frontier weak settlements, and gradually advanced through the country, for the of eight years, destroying the live stock, insulting, frightening, wounding, and sometimes killing the inhabitants, burning their houses, carrying away ther slaves, and committing every kind of devastation, till they proceeded so low as within thirty miles of Charles-town,"[14] Indian outrages became so frequent that Adair offered to head an expedition to put an end to them.[15]

In 1753 it was learned "that among the Cherokees there was one Santiquae, with a Frenchman for his packhorseman; and Anthony Dean, a violent catholic, and so learned as to arouse the suspicion that he was a Jesuit emissary. His packhorseman was a Spaniard, who spoke also fluently in the French language. They mentioned another, though not by name, a very dangerous intruder."[16] Fort Prince George was built by South Carolina, November, 1753 in the Keowee Valley of Upper South Carolina near the Cherokee town of Keowee. It was named for Prince George, afterwards George the Third.[17] In 1756 the South Carolinians built on the southern banks of the Little Tennessee River near the mouth of Tellico River, five miles below and west of Chote, and garrisoned the fort afterwards famous as Fort Loudon. They gave it that name in honor of John Campbell, Earl of Loudon or Loudown, who had just arrived in America as governor of Virginia and commander in chief of the British troops in North America.[18] The Cherokee had agreed

[14]Adair's American Indians, 1775, 343-344.
[15]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 458.
[16]Ibid., 460-484.
[17]Ibid., 501, 505, 506; 2 Hewitt's History of South Carolina and Georgia, 1779, 204-205.
[18]Adair's American Indians, 1775, 269; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 51-52-53; Timberlakes' Memoirs, 1765, Prefixed Map; 2 Dinwiddie Papers, 472-508-430; State Records of North Carolina, 1903, 132-151; 2 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1858, 300; 4 Bancroft's United States, 1854, opposite 352; S. C. Williams's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, opposite 186, 192; 2 Smith's South Carolina as a Royal Province, 1893, 203; 1 Jones's History of Georgia, 1883, 212 and map opposite; 2 Hewett's History of South Carolina and Georgia, 1779, 205; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 505, 506, 513; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 28; 2 Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 828; 4 Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1894, 33; 1 Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe, 1899, 396, 412, 434, 453, 484, 486; 2 Ibid., 3, 4, 13, 48, 51, 137, 394; 1 Correspondence of William Pitt, 6, 14-22, 34, 36-51, 53, 58, 69-73, 74-80, 100-101, 128, 133-136, 182-196, 263, 354; McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1899, 288-289, 324; 5 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1887, 612, 613; 6 Idem, 1888, 61, 119, 136-137.

to furnish four-hundred warriors to cooperate against the French in the north[19] This agreement the Cherokees never fullfilled. Probably they never intended to comply with it. A short time before Fort Loudon was built the Virginians aided by the North Carolinians had erected a fort in the same neighborhood, which was never garrisoned and was soon destroyed by the Indians.[20] Even while that fort was in process of construction the Cherokees there exhibited antagonism to the work, as well as to the English.[21]

In the course of the French and Indian war some Cherokees returning from helping the English were much mistreated in Virginia and the people set to work to avenge the wrong. "The Muskohage also at that time having a friendly intercourse with the Cheerake, through the channel of the Governor of South-Carolina, were, at the instance of the watchful French, often ridiculing them for their cowardice in not revenging the crying blood of their beloved kinsmen and warriors."[22] "At the same time, they promised to assist them against us, and in the name of the Alebama French, assured them of a supply of ammunition to enable them to avenge their injuries, and maintain their lives and liberties against the mischievous and bloody English Colonists; who they said, were naturally in a bitter state of war against all the red people, and studied only to steal their lands, on a quite opposite principle to the open steady conduct of the generous French, who assist their poor red brothers."[23] "Colonel, afterwards General Sumpter, accompanied Oconostota and his Cherokee delegation on their visit to Charleston. Returning with that distinguished chief to the seat of his empire, he there found among the Indians one Baron Des Johnnes, a French Canadian, who spoke seven of the Indian languages. Sumpter, suspecting the baron of being an incendiary sent to excite the several tribes to hostility against their white neighbours, with characteristc resolution arrested him; taking him single-handed, in spite of the opposition of the Indians, and at much personal risk, carrying him prisoner to Fort Prince George. Des Johnnes was afterwards sent to Charleston, where he was examined

[19]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 40.
[20]Timberlake's Memoirs, 1765, Map.
[21]5Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1887, 585, 612, 614, 635, 637.
[22]Adair's American Indians, 1775, 245-250..
[23]Ibd.

and though not proved guilty, it was deemed expedient to send him to England."[24]

William Henry Lyttleton was governor of South Carolina at this time and a more pious, idiotic and treacherous man never occupied the gubernatorial chair anywhere. The Cherokees were hostile and South Carolina was threatened with an invasion by the French from their forts in Alabama and Georgia.[25] The gubernatorial saint and unprincipled individual arrested, imprisoned, and threatened and grossly maltreated some prominent Cherokee chiefs who were endeavoring to avert war at home and, in pursuance of that pacific effort, had come to Charleston, only to be insulted and outraged by the occupant of the governor's seat. This villainous conduct on the part of South Carolina's chief executive precipitated a war with the Cherokees.[26] With much parade and grievous threats he marched through South Carolina to the Cherokee country, became frightened, and retreated to Charleston at the first appearance of danger.[27]

Apparently the French were at this time forming settlements among the Cherokees not far from Fort Loudon. "Haywood, in his 'Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee,' says: 'Mr. Brown, a Scotchman, came into the Cherokee Nation in the year 1761, and settled on Hiawassee River or near it. He saw on the Hiawassee and Tennessee the remains of old forts, about which were axes, guns, hoes, and other metallic utensils. The Indians at that time told him that the French had formerly been there and built these forts'." Explorations made there in 1883 showed relics of Indian and white habitation.[28]

The Cherokees were now attacking various white settlements. In 1760, Colonel Archibald Montgomery, later Earl of Eglinton, was sent with his Highland regiment to the relief of South Carolina. He marched into the Cherokee

[24]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 55.
[25]1 Correspondence of William Pitt, 65-80; 2 Dinwiddie Papers, 632, 651; 5 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1887, 765.
[26]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 42.
[27]McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1899, 330, 331, 332, 334, 336-338, 339, 340, 341; 2 Hewitt's History of South Carolina and Georgia, 1779, 218, 216-217, 219, 220, 225, 226; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 42; Adair's American Indians, 1775, 249, 250, 251; 1 Ramsay's History of South Carolina, 1809, 169-172, 173, 174; 2 Correspondence of William Pitt, 230-231; 6 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1888, 219.
[28]C. Thomas's The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times, 1890, 30-31.

country of South Carolina and through the mountains into North Carolina until he came to Etchoe, or Echoe, on the Little Tennessee River in what is now Macon County, North Carolina, three miles above the modern town of Franklin. There he encountered the Cherokees and was by them defeated. He retreated to Charleston.[29]

Fort Loudon was now besieged by the Cherokees. Virginia had promised aid but was engaged in repelling inroads of Indians incited by the French. Fort Loudon capitulated on August 8, 1760, and, in imitation of the perfidy of Lyttleton, the Cherokees afterwards slaughtered some of those who had surrendered.[30] At this time there were several Frenchmen among the upper towns of the Cherokees inciting the Indians to continue the war. In this Louis Latinac, a French officer was particularly active. Telling the Indians that it was the purpose of the English to destroy them, he furnished them with ammunition and urged them on to war. At a great meeting of the Nation he struck his tomahawk into a log of wood and called out: "Who is the man that will take this up for the King of France?" Salotte, the Young Warrior of Estatoe, seized the tomahawk, calling out: "I am for war. The spirits of our brothers who have been slain still call upon us to avenge their death. He is no better than a woman that refuses to follow me." Others seized the tomahawk and declared their desire to fight." But the triumph of the Cherokees was near its end. Lieutenant James Grant with the Highlanders reached Charleston in 1761. With these men, South Carolina and North Carolina bodies of militia, and some Indian allies, Grant entered the Cherokee Country, crossed the mountains into North Carolina in June, 1761, reached to within two miles of Etchoe on the Little Tennessee, now in Macon County, North Carolina, about three miles above the present town of Franklin, and the same Etchoe at which Montgomery

[29]2 Hewitt's History of South Carolina and Georgia, 1779, 230-231, 232, 234, 235, 236; McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1899, 347; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 43, 523, 527; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 229; Adair's American Indians, 1775, 185.

[30]2 Hewitt's History of South Carolina, 236-237, 238, 239; 1 Ramsey's History of South Carolina, 1809, 180; Timberlake's Memoirs, 1765, 65-66 and Map; McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1899, 347-348; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokees, 1902, 43, 44; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 31; 6 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1888, 313-314; 2 Correspondence of William Ptt, 357, 487, 416, 357, 184-185; 2 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 530, 529.

[31]2 Hewett's History of South Carolina, 1779, 239-244.

had met defeat, encountered the Cherokees there on June 10, defeated them with great loss to them, devastated their country and returned to South Carolina. The English thought that French officers were with the Cherokees in this fight.[32]

In 1761, Lieutenant Henry Timberlake of Virginia, visited the Overhill towns of the Cherokees. He says: "On my arrival in the Cherokee country, I found the nation much attached to the French, who have the prudence, by familiar politeness, (which costs but little, and often does a great deal) and conforming themselves to their ways and temper to conciliate the inclinations of almost all the Indians they are acquainted with, while the pride of our officers often disgusts them; nay, they did not scruple to own to me, that it was the trade alone that induced them to make peace with us, and not any preference to the French, whom they loved a great deal better."[33]

But the day of French influence with the Southern Indians terminated with the treaty of Paris in 1763, by which the French lost, with a very small exception, all the territory claimed by them in what is now the Southern States. Throughout the time of this French claim the territory of Buncombe County, at least all of it west of the Blue Ridge, was embraced in the French region and French scheme. The name of the French Broad River is a memento of this.[34]

The Indian empire undertaken to be founded by Christian Priber included in its scope all of the present Buncombe County, for all the area of that county was once a part of the Cherokee hunting grounds and was so in the day of Priber.

It is not easy to perceive any reason for ascribing to Robert LaSalle the great amount of praise which is commonly given to him in connection with the Mississippi River. Hernando de Soto had found that stream and crossed it at one of the Chicakasaw Bluffs in 1541, and some of his surviving companions had in that year floated down it from

[32] B. B. Thatcher's Indian Biography, 1832 Edition, 161; 2 Hewett's History of South Carolina and Georgia, 1779, 250-251; 1 Ramsey's History of South Carolina, 1809, 188; Adair's American Indians, 1775, 252; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokees, 1902, 44.

[33] Timberlake's Memoirs, 1765, 73; New Edition, 1927, 96.

[34] Adair's American Indians, 1775, 231; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 45; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 392; F. A. Sondley's Hickory Nut Gorge, 38-46.

CHARLES II, KING OF ENGLAND, WHO ORIGINATED THE PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONISTS

that bluff near the present City of Memphis, Tennessee, to the Gulf of Mexico. This would seem to have won for him and them all the credit due to the discovery of the character and location of that great watercourse. Marquette and Joliet had found the way to it from the Great Lakes and passed down on it to the mouth of the Arkansas River in 1673. All that LaSalle did in 1682 was to traverse in a single journey the two sections thus previously traversed before, the one by the Spaniards of DeSoto's army, the other by Marquette and Joliet, for these sections lapped on each other in the vicinity of the present State of Mississippi. It was because of this journey that LaSalle has his fame.

Through it the French laid claim to all the country on the Mississippi River and its tributaries. Certainly the first settlement made by Iberville furnished no support for this claim. It was on a part of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico which, long before, the Spaniards had explored and near which they had previously made settlements. Then little credit could be accorded to the French for priority of settlement on the Mississippi River; since, before they made such a settlement, British ships were in the river for the purpose of planting a colony on its banks, a purpose from which they were diverted only because of the falsehood told to them by the French representative, Bienville, that river was not the Mississippi.

Usually the claim of the French was to the lands drained by the Mississippi River and its tributary waters. But after they had effected settlements on and near the Gulf of Mexico their claims expanded with their ambition and they recurred to an older claim asserted by them prior to 1741. "In an old map, constructed previous to 1741, by M. de L'Isle, geographer to the French King, a definite line is traced, marking the eastern limits of France's assumed domains on the American continent. It set out from a point near Charlestown, ran northeastward to Cooper River,—which it crossed some sixty miles from the ocean,—passed the Santee one hundred miles from its mouth, turned northwestward along the eastern bank of that stream till it reached the Catawba, pursued this tributary into the Alleghany Mountains, followed that course around the head waters of the Potomac to the Susquehanna,—crossing it at

a point some sixty-five miles from the head of the Chesapeake Bay,—ran thence up the eastern bank to the North Branch, and along that stream to the Mohawk, which it crossed some fifty miles above its junction with the Hudson,—thence to a point near the lower extremity of Lake Champlain, and along the channel of that water to the mouth of the Sorrelle, by which it finally passed to the River St. Lawrence. The sandy strip of country lying between this imaginary defiant line of frontier and the ocean was all that was allowed England for her portion of the continent."[33] This map "accompanying Cox's Carolina" (Carolana), mentioned by Logan, is still in the Charleston Library.[34] This French claim seems to have been based on the discovery of Verrazano, and not on that of LaSalle, and to have conceded to the English only the parts of the country on which they had actual residences at the time when this map was made. However, after the French lost by the treaty of Paris of 1763 her claim to nearly all her asserted territory in the present Southern States, the limits of that claim are not important since by that treaty it passed to Great Britain, the rival claimant.

It is common practice with Protestant writers to denounce the cruelty and bigotry of the Spaniards in America. The denunciation is just, however severe. But there never were more cruel and bigoted people in America or eleswhere than the French. Upon this they are usually silent. The bigotry and cruelty of the French Catholics on the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico were in no measure, exceeded by those of their fellow Catholics, the Spaniards. Nor was either surpassed in bigotry and cruelty by any people in Europe, Asia, or Africa. However, in bigotry, cruelty, turbulence, and unprincipled conduct none of these surpassed the hypocritical Huguenots of the Ribault and Laudonniere colonies in South Carolina and Florida. For these vices Spaniards and French alike, whether Catholics or Protestants, deserve the hearty execrations of every humane and every honest person. In the revolutions of fortune's wheel Buncombe County came near being of these, first Spaniard, and later French. Fate averted both calamities.

[33]McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1899, 301-302; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 333-334.
[34]McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1899, 301.

To the French that region in New France, Louisiane, Apalche, or Apalache, or Apaltce.[37] They, like the Spaniards, looked to it for silver and gold. The Spaniards checked the French purpose to reach this country when the latter expected to approach it from Florida and the southeast; the English thwarted that purpose of the French to reach this country from the southwest. The contest between the French and the Spaniards was short and sharp; that between the French and the English was long and severe. Utimately none of the three proved able to hold the country. That country soon started on its career as a part of the independent State of North Carolina; but not until the termination of another prolonged and savage contest in which the English, in turn, were defeated. Then the region was settled and soon began a political existence as the County of Buncombe with an area so large at first that it acquired the popular name of "The State of Buncombe."

[37]Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 28.

CHAPTER VIII.

BRITISH CLAIMS

The world has always had its philosophers and scientists who devoted their time and thought to the acquisition of knowledge and the advancement of the human race. These have always encountered bitter opposition from the great majority of their fellow men who preferred vague speculations in regard to the unknowable which speculations they valued in proportion to their incoherence, uncertainty, and inconsistency. In such imaginations ignorance in unrestrained and can freely indulge its senseless vanity in suppositions of equality with learning and intelligence. Thus the difficulties of the pursuit of knowledge are enhanced by the envy and hatred of folly and superstition. There is, however, always a number of men, sometimes not wholly devoid of intelligence, who find their profit in flattering the silly but vicious conceits of the pretentious leaders of the unenlightened and directing their resentment and prejudice against what they unwillingly perceive to be beyond their reach. Sometimes, however, the stupidities of these enemies of truth, unintentionally on their part, contribute to the success of the cause which they regard with animosity.

In the earliest times known to history men of reflection suspected the existence of unknown lands in the western ocean. For more than two thousand years before the birth of Christopher Columbus these conception had engaged the attention of studious persons who reached their conclusions from the consideration of obvious facts and expected the ultimate verification of those conclusions. For years such beliefs had been entertained and handed down by the wise men of Egypt. On a visit to that land Solon, the great Athenian law-giver, philosopher and poet, heard from those wise men stories of this western world. His life is supposed to have been spent from 638 to 558 before the beginning of the Christian era. These Egyptian legends Solon esteemed highly and intended to embody in a poem for the instruction of his countrymen, but died with out completing the work. Plato, probably the most famous of Greek philosophers, was another Athenian. He lived from 427 to 347

before the Christian era. In two of his works he recounts this story of Atlantis which Solon had learned in Egypt. It is an account of a vast island lying in the ocean opposite the Pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltor) and greater than Asia and Sybigus Africa combined, and whose inhabitants attempted the conquest of all peoples on the Mediterranean Sea but were repulsed by the Athenians. This great island of Atlantis was engulfed in the Atlantic Ocean.[1]

Just here it may be noted that North Carolina lies opposite the Straits of Gibraltor and across the Atlantic ocean. It may occupy the site, in part of the fabled Atlantis. Why may it not be a part of Atlantis itself?

The Phoenicians are said, when exploring the coasts of western Africa to have been "on a suddain driven by a furious Storm afar off into the main Ocean; and after they had lain under this violent tempest for many days," to have come to an island of pleasant character and "the HETRURIANS (when they were masters at Sea) designed to send a Colony thither; but the CARTHAGINIANS oppos'd them, both fearing lest most of their own Citizens shoud be allured (through the goodness of the Island) to settle there, and likewise intending to keep it as a place of refuge for themselves.'"[2] So extensive and strong were the impressions of the existence of a great western land that stories arose almost everywhere about such a discovery having been made; and when, at last, that had been accomplished there was scarcely a people anywhere who did not assert for themselves a prior discovery. There is nothing in itself improbable in any of these claims and no evidence of sufficent strength to sustain any of them. The actual discovery might well have been made at a much earlier period than it was. For more than twenty-two hundred years Greek poets and philosophers had been proclaiming the globular form of the earth. From Hesiod, who lived eight hundred and sixty years before the Christian era began, this fact had been reiterated times innumerable. More than a dozen distinguished leaders of that day had given to it their unqualified adherence, in different ages and various manner. Some of them had explained the incontrovertible proofs of this on

[1] Jowett's Plato, 1892, 349-351, 441-448, 527-543.
[2] Diodoms Sienius, Book 5, Chapter 2, G. Booth's translation, 1721, P. 184, Margin 208; 1 J. Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of Amerca, 1889, 24-25.

which they relied. Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander the Great, adduced all the principal arguments now employed in support of that conclusion, with the single exception that thousands of people have actually gone around the earth. He pointed out that when the moon in its eclipse entered the shadow of the earth that shadow was round and darkened first a concave segment of the moon, and a round shadow could be thrown by a round body only; and that when the stars are observed at two places, one removed to some distance south from the other, some stars visible at one place were invisible at the other, because of bing below the horizon at the place at which they could not be seen.[3] Hundreds of distinguished men who lived after the beginning of the Christian era had asserted the earth's rotundity.[4] Upon the knowledge that the world was spherical several measurements had been made of its circumference by Eratosthenes, Dicalarchus and others, some of them antedating the time of Aristotle. Aristotle himself says that the distance around the earth had been found to be fifty thousand miles.[5]

To the acceptance of this obvious fact in regard to the earth's shape there were certain passages in the Jewish books which now constituted parts of the Christian manual and were known collectively as The Bible, which preverted many men's views as obstacles. Thus the earth was said to have ends[6] and foundations[7] and four corners[8] and pillars[9] and the heavens to have pillars[10] and windows[11] and to be spread or stretched out.[12] It was also said that the creator of all things completed the work in six days and rested on (Saturday) the seventh day, the Sabbath, and thereupon, in commemoration of that rest, commanded that all people observe the seventh day as sacred. If the earth was round this was impossible, since the seventh day at one place would not be the seventh day to the east or to the west of

[3]8 Encyclopedia Britanica, 11th editon, 799; Weise's Discoveries of America. 1884, 71 note; 2 Encyclopedia Britanica, 11th Edition, 501-522; Diogenes Laertius, C. D. Yonge translation, 1891, 181-194; 1 Nelson's Encyclopedia, 1907, 357; 1 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889, 3.
[4]Ibid.
[5]1 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889, 4.
[6]Isaiah, 45, 22, 40, 28; Jer. 51, 16.
[7]Ibid, 48, 13.
[8]Rev., 7, 1.
[9]Job 9, 6.
[10]Job 26, 11.
[11]Mal., 3, 10; Gen., 7, 11.
[12]Job. 9, 8; Jer., 51, 15; 10, 12.

that place and while it was midday at that place it would be midnight halfway around the earth and between the equator and the poles it would be a part of the day at one place and at the poles a day is six months long and a night is six months long and it is day at one pole when it is night at another pole. None of these difficulties would necessarily arise on a flat earth. Christianity prevailed in western Europe and the Bible was accepted as an infallible guide in all matters, as it still is theoretically at least with certain classes, whether the matter be geography or astronomy, or geology, or mathematics, or chemistry, or any other science or chronology, or history or zoology. Under such circumstances leading Christian priests thought proper to denounce as abhorrent all idea that the earth was round or could have antipodal inhabitants. Augustine, a priest, wrote in a book of his own production that "Scripture, which proves the truth of its historical statements by the accomplishment of its prophecies, gives no false information; and it is too absurd to say that some men might have taken ship and traversed the whole wide ocean, and crossed from this side of the world to the other and that thus even the inhabitants of that distant region are descended from the first man.[1&2] The theologian's chief weapon is miracle, by the use of which he extricates himself from every danger; but he never commits the error of allowing an adversary to us this effective weapon.

Lactautius, another priest and leading Christian theological writer and savant, who lived in the fourth century, undertook a refutation of the arguments of Plato in regard to the spherical form of the earth and no doubt, was proclaimed by his fellows to have achieved that result in great brilliancy. He asked: "Is it possible that men can be so absurd as to believe that the plants and trees on the other side of the earth hang downward, and that men there have their feet higher than their heads? If you ask them how they defend these monstrosities, how things do not fall from the earth on that side, they reply that the nature of things is such that heavy bodies tend toward the center, like the spokes of a wheel, while light bodies, as clouds, smoke, fire, tend from the center towards the heavens on all sides. Now I

[1&2] Augustine's City of God, B. 16, C. 9; M Dods's Translation, 1888, 118-119

am really at a loss what to say of those who, when they have once gone wrong, steadily persevere in their folly and defend one absurd opinion by another.'"[14] Apparently that individual was not given to talking to himself, for maintaining that there could be antipodes who would not fall from the earth Virgilius, Bishop of Salsburg, was deprived of his bishopric.[15] Possibly it may not be inappropriate to say that the passage from Lactautius quoted above was by him plagiarized from Plutarch.[16]

This antagonism of leading Christian writers to the scientific conception of the earth's shape and inhabitants had great influence for many centuries and helped materially to retard for long ages the discovery of the new world. But all the while there were men, and among them not a few Christians, who regarded the development of nature's revelations far more productive of geographical knowledge than was the maintenance of theological dogmatism. In spite of ecclesiastical pronouncements the belief persisted, especially among studious people, that there was a country on the earth unknown to ancient and medieval Europe, Asia and Africa and that country lay in the ocean to the west. Ogygia, Calyso's island mentioned by Homer, where Odysseus was detained, is said by Plutarch to be five days' sail from Britain westward and to have three other islands equally distant from it and from each other and a great continent five thousand stadia from it.[17] While this mingles fable with geographical opinions, it points plainly to the belief of a great continent which occupies the position of North America and is a surprising approximation of conjecture to fact. Whether or not these surmises, traditional through so many generations, actually resulted in any pre-Columbian discovery of America, must remain unknown. It is certain that they did result in numerous accounts of such alleged discoveries which preceded the accomplishment of Columbus and some of which influenced that event, as well as events long before it. Almost certainly the Phoeni-

[14]Lactantius's Divine Institute, 8.3, c. 24, Antenidene C. L , vol 21, page 196-197.
[15]George Sandy's Ovid's Matamorphosis Englished, 1632, 20, a translation made when the translator was one of the antipodes living in Virginia and, not falling off from the earth whether or not his 'feet were higher than his head.'
[16]"On the apparent face in the Moon's Orb." Plutarch's Moral Works, C. W. King's translation, Bohn Edition, 1889 c. 7, p. 206.
[17]Ibid., C. XXVI, Page 246, Harpers' Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, 1897, 1128.

cians had found the British Islands prior to the first Olympiad (1354 B. C.); and from Cornwell and adjacent lands and the near by Scilly Islands (Cassiterides) gotten tin and lead; concealing as far as they could this discovery. Midacitus first brought lead into Greece and it and tin came from Britain through marine transportation or land transportation by the Veneti and Narlionenses. The Greeks called these islands whence tin came Cassiterides, Tin Islands; but thy did not know their location. It is said that the names Albion and Britain are of Phoenician origin, and derived from Phoenician words, Albion from Alpin, High Mountain or Alben White; and Britain from Bratanac, "A Country or Field of Tynn."[18] Phoenician customs are yet practised in the British Islands.[19] Herodotus, the great Greek historian, (about 484 B. C.) had heard of Britain but remarks: "Neither am I better acquainted with the islands called the Cassiterides, from which we are said to have our tin."[20] Both Homer and Hesiod speak of tin,[21] and thus, being Greeks, must have known of Britain; for in the bronze age those islands were sources of supply of tin and even copper and gold, to the Mediterranean peoples.[102]

Aristotle, the Greek scientist, contemporary of Alexander the Great. (134 B. C.), in his treatise de Mundo (About the World) speaks of two large islands in the western ocean, called "The Britis Isles" and consisting of Albion and Ierne ("Alblov Kai' Tepver)," England (with Wales and Scotland) and Ireland.[103] But there is some reason to conclude from tablets found on the site of Asshur, the ancient capital of Assyria that Sargon of Akkad, a Sumerian emperor, established trade relations with Britain 2600 years B. C.[104]

The Canary Islands, the Madeira Islands, and the Cape Verde Islands had all been known at a very early period.[105]

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[18]Aylett Saunner's Britannia Antiqua Illustrata, 1676, 38-44, 19; Strabo. L. 3, C. 5, Section 11, Falconer and Hamilton's translation, 1887, Page 262-263, 181, 194, 221; Piny's Natural History, b. 4, c. 36, Bostock and Riley's translation, 1893, p. 367; b. 7, c. 57; Ibid., vol. 2 p. 225 and notes.

[19]R. Quinton's Strange Adventurs, 1812, 296-297, 68-69, 74.

[20]Herodotus, b 3, sec 115.

[21]Liddell and Scott's Greek. English Lexicon, 1897, 748.

[102]H. F. Cleland's Our Prehistoric Ancestors, 1928, 259, 261, 204, 205, 206.

[103]1 T. Wright's History of Ireland, 2.

[104]D. A. Mackenzie's Ancient Man in Britain, 1923, 99-100, 218.

[105]1 Strabo, b. 1, c. 4; Falconer and Hamilton's translation, 1887, Page 99, 101; Ibid., b. 2, c. 4, Page 157; 2 Pliny, Bostock and Riley's translation, 1890, b. 6, c. 36, Page 106; Ibid., b. 6, c. 37, Page 107-108; 1 Pliny, Bostock and Riley's translation, 1890, b. 5, c. 44, Page 498, Note; 1 J. Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889, 14-12; 5 Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 174, 255; Humbolt's Views of Nature, Otto and Bohn translation, 1850, 110-112.

There is reason to think that the Phoenicians had extended their explorations to East South Africa and to the islands of the South Seas,[106]

The Azores, or Western Islands, are an archipelago of volcanic island lying from 830 to 930 miles in the Atlantic Ocean west from Portugal in three groups between north latitudes 36° 55' and 39° 55' opposite Virginia and Maryland. They are parts, not colonies of Portugal, the nearest European main land. In one of them, Corvo, have been found a number of Carthaginian coins, which fact seems to indicate that they were known to the Carthaginians, Rome's ancient rival.[107] It is often difficult to determine to what places the Phoenicians and their colonists, the Carthaginians, often spoken of as Phoenicans, went. "Formerly the Phoenicians alone carried on this traffic (with the Cassiterides) from Gades (Cadiz, Spain) concealing the passage from everyone; and when the Romans followed a certain ship-master, that they also might find the market, the ship-master of jealousy purposely ran his vessel upon a shoal, leading on those who followed him into the same destructive disaster; he himself escaped by means of a fragment of the ship, and received from the State the value of the cargo he had lost."[108]

"The Arabian geographers, Edrisi in the 12th century, and Ibn-al-Wardi in the 14th, describe, after the Canaries, nine other islands in the Western Ocean, which are in all probability the Azores. This identification is supported by various considerations. The number of islands is the same; the climate under which they are placed by the Arabians make them north of the Canaries; and special mention is made of the hawks or buzzards, which were sufficiently numerous at a later period to give rise to the present name (Port Acor, a hawk). The Arabian writers represent them as having been populous, and as having contained cities of some magnitude; but they state that the inhabitants had been greatly reduced by intestine warfare. The Azores are first found distinctly marked in a map of 1351, the southern group, being named the Goat Islands (Cabreras); the middle

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[106]R. Quinton's Strange Adventures, 1912, 256, 296-297.
[107]3 Encyclopedia Britanica, 11th Edition, 83-85; 3 Ibid., 13th Edition, 83-85; 1 Nelson's Encyclopedia, 1907, 502.
[108]1 Strabo, b. 3, c. 5, Sec. 11 Hamilton and Falconer's translation, 1887, 262-263.

group, the Wind or Dove Islands (DeVentura Sive de Columbis); and the western, the Brazil Island (DeBrazi)--the word Brazil at that time being employed for any red dye-stuff. In a Catalan map of the year 1375 Corvo is found as Corvi Marini and Flores as LiConigi; while St. George is already designated San Zorze. It has been conjectured that the discoverers were Genoese; but of this there is not sufficient evidence. The navigator, Gonzalo Velho Cabral—not to be confounded with his greater namesake, Pedro Alvarez Cabral—was sent to prosecute the discovery. Another version relates that Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal had in his possession a map in which the islands were laid down, and that he sent out Cabral through confidence in its accuracy. The map had been presented to him by his brother, Dom Pedro, who had travelled as far as Babylon. Be this as it may, Cabral reached the island which he named Santa Maria, in 1432, and in 1444 took possession of St. Michael's. The other islands were all discovered in 1457."[109]

Pytheas of Massilia (now Marseilles in France,) who was probably contemporary with Alexander the Great and certainly wrote earlier than 285 B. C., discovered and explored the British Isles and even found a place to the north which he called Thule, now generally believed to be Iceland.[110] When the Scandinavians found Iceland in 850 A. D., it had been long the land of a small settlement of Irish monks called Culdees.[111] Greenland was discovered about 870 A. D. by an Icelander named Gunnbjorn.[112]

Thus from times of remote antiquity discoveries were in progress in the Atlantic ocean. This progressive enterprise received a fresh impulse in the fifteen century of the Christian era. Under the spirit of adventurous exploration which then animated the leading peoples of Europe to prosecute that work in sharp competition, America was sure to be discovered in a short while, if it had not already been discovered. This is proved by the fact that Portugal, after

[109]3 Encyclopedia Britannica, 13th Edition, 84-85.
[110]22 Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 703-704; 1 Strabo, B. 1, C. 4, Page 99-101; B. 2, C. 5, Section 8, Page 173; B. 2, C. 4, Page 157; Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, 1887.
[111]14 Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 231; E. C. Brewer's Reader's Handbook, 1891, 250; Norse Discovery of America, Norroena, Anglo Saxon Classics, 1906, 250; 1 Pliny's Natural History, Bostock and Riley's translation, 1893, 352 note 1, 109 note 3; 9 Chambers's Encyclopedia 1867, 424.
[112]5 Nelson's Encyclopedia, 1907, 572

reaching the southern extremity of Africa at the Cape of Good Hope, on his effort to get around Africa to India, in 1487, before the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, sent out in 1497 an expedition to India by that route and, in 1500 another expedition the same way to the same country under Pedro Alvarez Cabral who was driven out of his course by a storm and, on April 24, 1500, landed on the coast of South America, and thereby made a discovery of America not in the least connected with anything whatever accomplished by Christopher Columbus at anytime.[113]

Whether or not, in the times preceding Columbus, America had been found is not known. Many traditions of different nations assert that it was; but there is no sufficient evidence to support any of those traditions. One of these is often recorded in historical writings as if it were an established fact instead of an unsupported claim put forth under the inspiration of national or sectional vanity. Those who make this bold assertion call the imaginary event the "Norse Discovery of America." It is that, after Scandinavian settlements had been made in Iceland and Greenland, Norwegians going from the former to the latter under Bjarni Herjulfson, were in 986 A. D., driven out of their way and saw an unknown country to the southwest and were nine days thereafter in reaching Greenland; that, in the year 1000 A. D., Lief son of Eric the Red, another Norwegian, sailed with thirty-five companions from Greenland in search of this unknown land seen by Bjarni and came to it at a place which he named Helluland and going southward came to another coast by them denominated Vinland; that next year Thorwald, Lief's brother, went to Vinland and remained there three winters; that, in 1006, another Norwegian, Thorfinn Karlsefne, went with his wife, Gudrid, and his ships from Greenland to Vinland and spent three winters there, where his son, Snorre, was born; and that until 1347 frequent voyages were made to the settlement which Thorfinn had made in Vinland. This Vinland has been located at various places from Labrador to the southern parts of Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, and especially

[113] R. Southey's History of Brazil, 1810, 1-14; J. Pinkerton's Geography, 1804, 399.

by New Englanders in Massachusetts and Rhode Island[114] Uncertainty and want of evidence seem to be the chief characteristics of this confused story. This uncertainty as to the place of the purported discovery is as great as the uncertainty of any discovery at all. Thus Alexander von Humboldt says at one place that the locality of the discovery was "the coast line between Boston and New York, and consequently parts of the present states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut,","[115]; while later in the same work he says that it was a discovery "of the central and southern portions of the United States of America."[116] The account has scarcely more plausibility than that of the traditional visits invented by ecclesiastics of Saint Columba and Saint Thomas to America.[117] A full discussion of the alleged "Norse Discovery of America" is contained in J. P. MacLean's Norse Discovery of America, 1892. That purported discovery is derived chiefly from some Icelandic manuscripts called Sagas, compiled about 1385 from oral tradition and first published in 1697.[118]

These Sagas relate an earlier discovery of America than that which they ascribe to the Norwegians. They say that the natives of Vinland told the Norwegians who came to that country that farther southward beyond the Chesapeake Bay apparently there lived "white men, who clothed themselves in long white garments, carried before them poles to which cloths were attached, and called with a loud voice." By this the Norwegians understood that the white men mentioned had processions in which they carried banners and sang songs. In the oldest of the Sagas relating to Thorfinn Karlsefne, and in the Icelandic Landnama Book, the land between Virginia and Florida, it seems, is called "Land of the White men" and "Great Ireland (Irland it Mikla)," and "Huitramanaland." The old documents also

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[114]B. F. DeCosta's Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen. 1868; Norroena, Anglo Saxon Classics, "The Norse Discovery of America," 1905; The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, edited by J. E. Olson and others, 1906, 3-69; 1 Justin Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889, 60-61; C. R. Beasley's John and Sebastian Cabot, 1898, 7-15; Anderson's America not Discovered by Columbus, 1891; M. Mallet's Northern Antiquities, translated by Percy, 1890, 244-276; Norse Discovery of America by J. P. MacLean, 1892.

[115]2 Cosmos, Otto Translation, 1860, 231.

[116]Ibid., 295.

[117]6 Kingsborough's Mexican Antiquities, 1831, 289, 290, 220-222, 332, 418-420; B. F. DeCosta's Pre-Columbian Discovery of America, 1868, xviii.

[118]Norroena-Anglo Saxon Classics, The Norse Discovery of America, 1905; B. F. DeCosta's Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen, 1868; The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, edited by J. E. Olson and others, 1906, 3-69.

mention a country called Huitramanaland or Whiteman's Land, otherwise Irland it Mikla or Great Ireland, supposed to include North and South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. There is a tradition among the Shawanese Indians, who emigrated some years ago from Florida and settled in Ohio that Florida was inhabited by white people who possessed iron instruments.[119]

According to the statements of the Sagas just mentioned, and as far back as 1064 and prior to the time when Lief discovered Vinland, seemingly in 982, Ari Marsson, of the Icelandic race of Ulf the Squint-eyed, in a voyage from Iceland was driven to the Land of the White Men where he was recognized by men from the Orkney Islands and Iceland. The Irish had then settlements in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. The theory has even been urged that, since the oldest Icelandic documents say that Iceland was peopled by "White men who came across the sea," Iceland was first settled not from Europe but from Carolina (Great Ireland, the American White Men's Land) by Irishmen who had previously emigrated to America. It seems to be well established that, before the Norwegians found Iceland, that island had been settled (possibly from the Farroe Islands) by Irish Culdees, a cross of Scotch and Irish Christian monks, whose principal seat was at Iona among the Hebrides,[120]; and the theory merely adds that these Irisih who certainly lived in Iceland had reached that island by way of America. "It is also certain that the Icelanders first heard of the existence of America in Ireland,"[121]; and it is sometimes said that North America had been discovered by an Irish monk called Saint Brendan in A. D., 565-573.[122] It is said that about 861 a Norman pirate named Naddodd was driven by a storm on an unknown island which he named Schnee or Snowland. Upon his ac-

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[119]R. H. Major's Voyages of the Venetian Brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, 1873, xciii.

[120]Norroena, Anglo Saxon classics, Norse Discovery of America, 1906, 7, 257-277, 340-343, 216-227, 228-229, 214-215, 278-279; B. F. DeCosta's Pre-Columbian Discovery of America, 1868, 63, 70, 86-87, 88; Mallet's Northern Antiquities, Percy translation, 1890, 189 and note, 265-266; R. B. Anderson's America not Discovered by Columbus, 1891, 16-20, 30-40; 2 Humboldt's Cosmos, Otto translation, 1860, 234-236; Hawk's Rivero and Tschudi's Peruvian Antiquities, 1853, 5-6; 1 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1899, 94; 2 Rafinesques's American Nation 224-231. 7 Encyclopedia Britannica, 13th Edition, 615.

[121]5 S Baring-Gould's Lives of the Saints, 1914, 219.

[122]4 Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 495, with I. Donelly's Atlantis, 1882, 419-420; 2 Nelson's Encyclopedia, 1907, 273-274; 5 S. Baring-Gould's Lives of the Saints, 1914, 217-223.

count Gardar Suafarsson, of Denmark went in 864 to this island and named it Gardarholm, Gardar's Island. This led to a trip to the island by a Swede named Flocke, who, because of the ice, called it Iceland. In 874 Ingolf and Lief with others made a settlement there, finding there Irish books, bells, and British croziers. [123]

In 982 or 983 Eric Raude, or Redhead, knowing that Gunbiorn had discovered a country lying westward from Iceland, went to that new country; and, after three years, returned to Iceland, "where, with a view that a considerable number of people might be induced by his representation of matters to resolve upon going to this newly discovered country to which he gave the name of Greenland, he bestowed the most lavish praises on its rich meadows, its wood, and its fisheries." This resulted in a settlement of Greenland. Others say that Greenland was known long before and prior to 834, and that before that time Iceland was known by its present name.[124] "Iceland was discovered by the Irish sometime after 800 A. D. A generation or so later when the Norsemen (from Norway, not from Denmark) overran Ireland, they learned from the Irish about the Colony which they had already established in Iceland. Between 860 and 930, 50,000 Norsemen colonized Iceland. They swamped the original Irish."[125]

One of the most famous of the asserted pre-columbian discoveries of America is that claimed to have been made by a Welshman called Madoc Caradoc of Llancarvan in Glamorganshire, in a history of Wales, translated into English by Humphrey Lloyd and published in 1584, which declares that, in 1170 A. D., on the death of Owen Guyneth, King of North Wales, his children quarreled about the inheritance, until Madoc, one of them, determined to leave Wales, and sailed westward to a land without inhabitants; and, returning to Wales for colonists, set out again for the land which he had found and, with a number of men and women, reached that land and formed a settlement there, to which after another trip to Wales, he went back with ten ships; and was heard of no more. Some students think

[123]John Reinhold Forster's Northern Voyages and Discoveries, English translation, 1786, 50-51.
[124]Ibid., 80-81.
[125]V. Stefansson in "Time," October, 1928, Page 5.

that settlement to have been in the Carolinas.[126] Richard Hakluyt, the English geographer and author, about 1600 quoted from a Welsh poet, Meridith ap Rhees, part of a poem written in Latin about 1477 in which the explorations of Madoc in the ocean are plainly referred to.[127]

This discovery of Madoc was one of the principal grounds on which the English rested their claim to America. [128] There has, however, been a great difference of view as to the land found by Madoc; Hakluyt thought that it was the West Indies.[129] Dr. William Robertson thought that if Madoc made any discovery, "it was Madeira or some other of the western isles."[130] Other writers think that it was in Spain; others that it was somewhere in the Carolinas; others that it was in Mexico; others that it was in Florida; others that it was up the Mississippi river.[131] "The English believe, that this prince discovered *Virginia. Peter Martyr* seems to give a proof of it, when he says, that the nations of *Virginia* and those of *Gautimala,* celebrate the memory of one of their heroes, whom they call Madoc.[132] Possibly the Virginia here referred to is North Carolina, the first place so named. It is said that throughout all the American hemisphere south of the United States the Indians have traditions of a visit by a white man or white men who had beards, dressed in long robes, and taught the natives religions and the arts which were known to these Indians up to the times immediately following the discovery of Columbus.[133]

The story of Madoc was made the subject of a long poem under that name by Robert Southey, the English Poet Laureate, in which he makes Mexico the scene of Madoc's discovery. Attempts have been made to support this Madoc claim by the assertion that some Indians in America had Welsh words in their language. This argument was ad-

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[126]1 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 244, 13, 14, 15; 1 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889, 109-111; 8 (John Paul Maranos' Letter Written by a Turkish Spy, 1748, Page 160-161, B. 3, L. 12; 5 H. H. Bancroft's Native Races of the Pacific States, 1876, 116-121; 1 J. Belknap's American Biography, 1794, 58-66; J. D. Baldwin's Prehistoric Nations, 1869, 402-403.

[127]1 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 15.

[128]2 Ibid., 244.

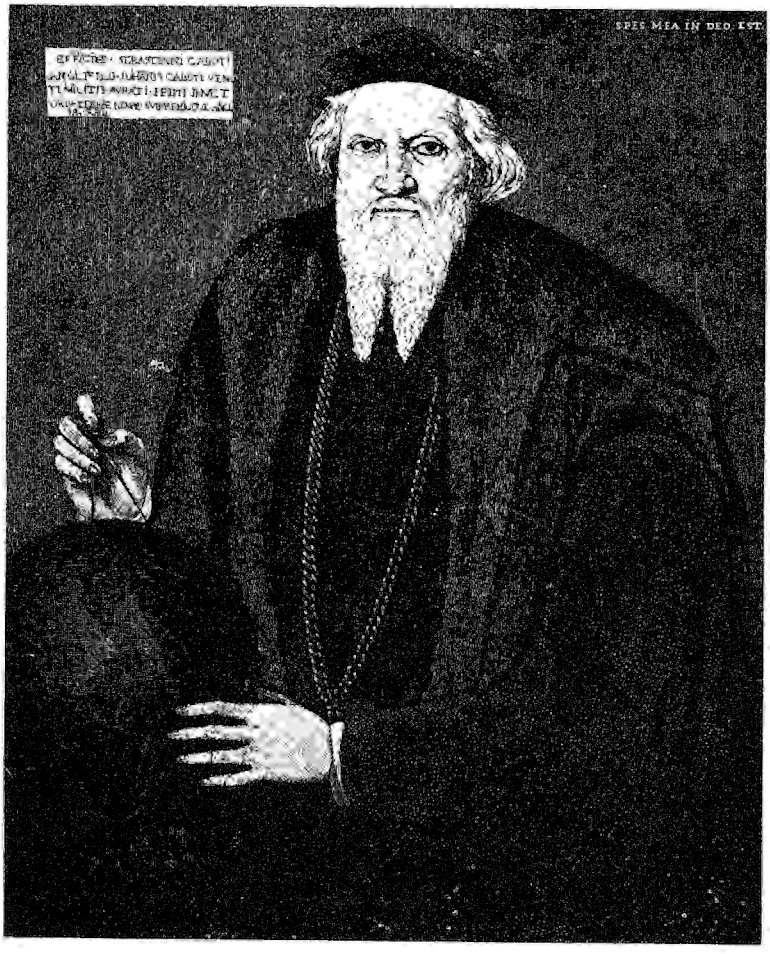
[129]Ibid., 14.

[130]1 Robertson's History of America, 1821, 274.

[131]1 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889; 5 H. H. Bancroft's Native Races of the Pacific, 1876, 116-121.

[132]1 Bossu's Travels through Louisiana, translated by J. R. Forster, 1771, 393-394.

[133]E. P. Vining's Inglorious Columbus, 1885, 555-567.



SEBASTIAN CABOT, THE EXPLORER, WHO PLANTED ENGLAND'S COLORS ON NORTH AMERICAN SOIL

vanced by Richard Hakluyt in 1584.[134] In support of this idea it was said Indians had been found among the Tuscaroras in eastern North Carolina and later at other different places, even as far west as Missouri, Arizona, and Oregon who spoke the Welsh language or employed Welsh words in conversation. This report lacks verification in every case.[135] "In 1660, Morgan Jones, Welsh clergyman, seeking to go by land from South Carolina to Roanoke, was captured by the Tuscarora Indians," who lived then in what is North Carolina. "He declares that his life was spared because he spoke Welsh, which some of the Indians understood; that he was able to converse with them in Welsh, though with some difficulty; and that he remained with them four months, sometimes preaching to them in Welsh. John Williams, LL.D., who reproduced the statement of Mr. Jones in his work on the story of Prince Madog's emigration, published in 1791, explained it by assuming that Prince Madog settled in North Carolina, and that the Welsh colony, after being weakened, was incorporated with those Indians. If we may believe the story of Mr. Jones (and I cannot find that his veracity was questioned at the time), it will seem necessary to accept the explanation. It will be recollected that, in the early colony times, the Tuscaroras were sometimes called 'White Indians'"[136] and this Morgan Jones "story was published in the Turkish Spy about 1730, in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1740, and was widely copied and commented on."[137][138] (See "An Enquiry into the Truth of the Tradition concerning the Discovery of America by Prince *Madog* ab Owen Guynedd, about the year 1170," by "John Williams, LL.D.," 1791.)[139]

These traditions of unknown regions of the west had been rife for indefinitely long periods of thousands of years being repeated and added to from time to time and appropriated with modifications by almost every nation. It has even been supposed that ancient inhabitants of the Canary Is-

[134]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 244; L. Wafer's Voyage, 1699, 186-187.
[135]2 Hodges' Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 282-286, 931-932; 5 H. H. Bancroft's Native Races of the Pacific States, 1876. 116-121; 2 Humboldt's Cosmos, Otto translation, 1860, 235-236 note.
[136]J. D. Baldwin's Pre-historic Nations, 1869, 402-403.
[137]2 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 931, 945.
[138]1 J. Belknap's American Biography, 1794, 58-66; 12 Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1909, 746-747; 14 Hakluyt Posthumous, of Purchase, 1906, 298-299; 5 H. H. Bancroft's Native Races of the Pacific States, 1876, 116-121; J. Priest's American Antiquities, 1835, passim; 2 Cathir's American Indians, 1841, 259-261.

lands went to America.[139] At length the time arrived when the facts about the matter were to be ascertained. Christopher Columbus, as he was called in Latin, or Christoforo Colombo as he was called in his native Italian, or Christobal Colon as he was called in his adopted Spanish, (1446-1506), a native of the neighborhood of Genoa, Italy, and an experienced and able navigator, who had become a citizen of Portugal, persuaded himself that the great geographical and commercial problem of his day to the solution of which Portugal was bending every energy, a short and cheap way to China, the Spice Islands, and other lands of the orient could be determined more satisfactorily by going west from Europe around the earth than in any way attempted by Portugal of circumnavigating the large continent of Africa or in going in any other direction. After failing to obtain sufficient assistance from Genoa or Portugal, he went to Spain and succeeded in having fitted out a small expedition which ended in his discovery in 1492 of West Indian Islands. Soon in other voyages by him and other navigators other western lands were found, consisting of several other islands and the continent of South America.[140] When he was endeavoring to obtain assistance from Spain for his undertaking he sent his brother, Bartholomew Columbus, to solicit aid from Henry VII, King of England. It was somewhile before Bartholomew was able to present the matter to that monarch. At last he did so, and Henry entered into a contract with him to grant the assistance asked. But in the meantime Christopher Columbus had obtained some help under a contract with the Spanish monarchs and made his first discoveries so that when Bartholomew reached Paris on his way from England he learned of his brother's success and return to Spain.[141] On the score of this agreement England claimed the American countries.[141a].

At the time of the discovery made by Christopher Columbus on his first and second voyages there were living in England a Venetian merchant named John Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Santius. These men were

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[139]G. Glass' History of the Discovery and conquest of the Canary Islands, 1764, 167.
[140]3 Nelson's Encyclopedia, 1907, 255-257.
[141]Washington Irving's Life and Voyages of Columbus, B. 8, Chapter 1, Edition 1884, Vol., 2, Page 2-5.
[141]-a 1 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 15-19; 2 Ibid., 244-246.

eager to follow the example of Christopher Columbus and go to the west on a voyage of discovery. Henry VII granted them a license to prosecute the enterprise at their own expence and later gave John Cabot permission to "take sixe English ships in any haven or havens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes or under, with all necessary furniture," and such Englishmen as would willingly accompany him. John Cabot and his son Sebastian set out from Bristol upon this undertaking with four or five ships on May 1, 1497, and saw land in the neighborhood of the modern Nova Scotia on the twenty-fourth day of the following June. This was the first discovery of the main land of North America. John Cabot called the country first sighted by him "Prima Vista," First Seen. After some more explorations of the coast and discovering the island of Newfoundland, he returned to England, where he was pensioned and treated with great honor. In the next year he and his son, Sebastian made another voyage to North America. For some reason the command of this expedition at an early stage devolved upon Sebastian Cabot who, with two ships and three hundred men, explored the eastern coasts of North America northwardly until their progress was arrested by icebergs and then southwardly until they passed to the westward of the island of Cuba. This expedition in 1498 by Sebastian Cabot was the occasion on which territory now constituting North Carolina, as well as the territories of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Virginia, Maryland and to the north of these States, was first seen by European eyes. Chiefly in consequence of these two expeditions of the Cabots, England asserted claim to all North America as far south as Mexico.[142]

It is rather a singular coincidence that Spain claimed America in consequence of the discovery of Columbus, an Italian; France claimed America in consequence of the discovery of John Verrazano, an Italian; and England claimed America in consequence of the discovery of John Cabot, an Italian; and Spain, France, and England were principal

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[142] 1 Goldsmid'ts Hakluyt, 1889, 19-32; Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, Edited by J. E. Olson and others 1906, 421-430; 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 246-254; 3 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 158; C. R Beasley's John and Sebastian Cabot, 1898, 1-111; Henry Harriss's John and Sebastian Cabot, 1896, 1, 141.

claimants of North America. When Columbus announced his discovery in the west, Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia, himself a Spaniard) gave these new lands to Spain because it had recently conquered the Mohammedan Moors in the war of Grenada.[143] This he did, since in the book of Psalms, Chapter 24, Verse 10, it is said, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein"; and in the book of Genesis, Chapter 14, Verse 19, 22 it is said that the Lord is "the possessor of heaven and earth"; and the Pope was the Lord's representative. But this disposition of the territory was not agreeable to the subjects of the Lord who lived in England and France, and were not sharers in the gift. Hence they denied the validity of the transfer and even questioned the Lord's title upon the ground that Jesus had said, John, Chapter 18, Verse 36, "My Kingdom is not of this world."[144] Repudiating the theological settlement in which they received nothing, they maintained that the title to any particular portion of this new land depended upon the priority of discovery. It could not be denied that the Indians had discovered America long before Columbus, long before the Norwegians, long before the Irish or Madoc or any of the numerous claimants to that honor. Moreover long possession always confers a title to land, and the ancient and continuous possession of the Indians could not be gainsaid.

"Now by nature no property is private, but dependeth either on ancient possession (as when men formerly came into unoccupied territories); or victory (as when they have taken possession of it in war); or of public constitution, contracts, terms, or lot."[145]

But then the Indians did not count. There was one theological matter connected with the title to this land in which all Europeans agreed. The Lord had directed the Israelites to slaughter the Canaanites, men, women and children, and drive them from Palestine. Hence it was the duty of every servant of the Lord to kill Indians and their wives and their children and expel them from the country which they occupied. To the discharge of this duty, Spaniards, English,

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[143]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 145.
[144]1 Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 558; 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 251.
[145]Cicero, De Officirs, B. 1, C. 7, C R. Edmond's translation, 1890, 14.

and French alike applied themselves with tireless assiduity, the Spaniards insisting that the country was theirs by the gift of the Almighty and the English and French insisting that any particular part of the country rightly belonged to the Christian nation whose subjects first found that part. Of course, the English and French never agreed as to which of them had first found any such part. The title of the deity was not sufficient to support the claim of Spain, but it was perfect as against the Indians. So the whites began to take possession, each nation of such part as it thought itself able to hold. In this acquisition of territory Great Britain peoples for a long time took no great part. A highly exaggerated opinion of oriental opulence had taken hold of the European mind in the middle ages. The growing spirit of exploration which so strongly marked the closing years of that unstable and remarkable period was due almost entirely to a desire to reach the East and share its riches. Whether discoveries were prosecuted to the south or west or north, they all had for their ultimate goal the countries of the Orient. This controlling purpose led to the discovery of America. But it did not end with that discovery. When the islands of the West Indies were first found they were confidently supposed to be outlying portions of the Asiatic regions. Then when navigators came to the American main lands these were, for a time supposed to be islands scattered along the coasts of the much sought Oriental borders. Further investigations led to the belief that these western continents were only series of narrow bodies of land which must be separated by channels of the sea and which bordered China and India lying in close proximity. The discovery by Balboa of the Isthmus of Panama tended strongly to confirm the opinion that from east to west America was quite a strip which resembled Japan (Cipango) in shape and position. Verrazano reported that the Chesapeake Bay was the Pacific Ocean (South Seas) almost in sight of the Atlantic Ocean. The voyage of Magellan across a vast expanse of water, the largest on the earth, and the journeys of DeSoto from the east and Coronado from the west through many leagues of land, ought to have dispelled this idea that Asia was near to the Atlantic shores of America.

But they did not. For nearly two centuries after the existence of western countries became known their great extent was not comprehended. Even after the middle of the seventeenth century grants of territory were made which ran westward from the Atlantic to the Pacific (South Seas) with little idea that through the north central portion of North America, where they lay, that distance was one of thousands of miles.

Thus for years, men constantly endeavored to find between these supposed islands of North and South America a pass-way or pass-ways which would give a near approach to Asia. To this effort many voyages were vainly directed but persistently renewed. Most of the early attentions given by English to America had relation to this object of finding what came to be called the Northwest Passage, something which for practical purposes did not exist and which the present age is attempting to supply by the artificial means of interoceanic canals.

In the time which closely followed the explorations of the Cabots, were several searches for the northwest passages. In 1527, King Henry VIII of England sent out, on the mission of finding a northwest passage, two vessels under Robert Thorne and Hugh Eliot, "to undertake the search of the Indies by the Pole, which, Thorne held to be Navigable." One ship was lost "about the North-parts of Newfound-Land, the other shaping her course towards Cape Briton, and the coast of Arembec (or as some call it *Norumbega*) returned home."[146]

Then in 1536 a Mr. Hore and other Englishmen went on a voyage to Newfoundland and Cape Briton and met there a French ship.[147] In the meantime the English monarch had been paying men for "hawkes from the Newfounded isle" and "a preste that goeth to the island" and for "wyld catts and popyngays of the new found island" and "popgngais and catts of the mountayne, with the stuff."[148] Queen Elizabeth of England thought at one time of colonizing the present Florida, but abandoned that purpose.[149] Sir John Hawk-

[146]Purchase his Pilgrimage, 1613, 625; 1 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 293-294; 2 Grafton's Chronicles, 1809, 393.
[147]1 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 294-298.
[148]J. A. Doyle's English in America, Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, 1882, 36-27.
[149]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 506.

ins, the great English mariner, selling among the Spaniards in the west a large number of negro slaves, and while England and Spain were at peace, "put in for relief at Saint John de Ullma." The Spanish fleet arrived at that port, Vera Cruz, in Mexico, while he was there and made an agreement of amity with Sir John; but the Viceroy perfidously assaulting, "with close trechery (contrary to his faith plighted)" the English with superior force; only two English ships escaped and they then suffered so greatly from storms and famine, Hawkins landed and left in October, 1568, some of his men for want of food, and of those men only four survived to reach England.[150] Of these four David Ingram and two others, as Ingram reported, travelled on foot northward along Indian trails through the eastern part of what are now the United States until they reached the French on the Saint Johns River in eastern British America, and went thence in a French ship to France. The narrative of David Ingram relating to his experiences on this journey in North America is one of great marvels and many fictions. Hakluyt included it in 1589 in his Voyages, but omitted it from his work in 1600. "It seemeth some incredibilities of his reports caused him to leave him out in the next Impression, the reward of lying being not to be believed in truths."[151]

In 1576 Martin Frobisher or Furbesher. an English mariner, made with two small ships, a voyage in search of the northwest passage and went to the coast of Labrador, and in 1577 made for the same object, under a royal charter, a second voyage to the same region; and in 1578 made. in command of fifteen ships assigned to him by Elizabeth, a third voyage to "Meta a Incognita," as America was then called and reached Hudson Strait vicinity for the same purpose.[152] Michael Lok's map in Hakluyt's Divers Voyages (1582) puts down "Norombega" as a large island about where Nova Scotia is, "Elizabeth" as a North American eastern peninsula in north latitude about 60 degrees, "Frobisher" an island north of it, "Cortereal" a peninsula south of "Elizabeth," and "Apalachen" where are the Carolinas

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[150]19 Purdhas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, 263.
[151]16 Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, 108-112; 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt. 1889, 242.
[152]1 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 74-107.

and Virginia, and about one-third of the distance from North America to Europe and in the latitude of southern Florida an island marked 'Sept Cites' (Septem Civities?), and, north of North America and a northwest passage, a large land marked "Lok," apparently named in honor of the maker of the map.[153] Frobisher effected little by his voyages. He never found the Northwest Passage.

The first grant of Amercan lands was that made May 4, 1493 to Spain by Pope Alexander VI,[154] unless the grants theretofore made to the Portuguese by Pope "Martin V. and his successors" could be made by going east to include America.[155] No one, however, except the beneficiaries under these papal grants regarded the grants as having any force. Especially in France and England were these grants treated as amounting to nothing.

On June 11, 1578, "Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England," etc., issued "The Letters Patent, granted by her Majestie to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America." Thereby he was empowered "to discover, finde, search out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories not actually possessed of any Christian Prince or people, as to him, his heirs and assigns, and to every or any of them, shall seem good; and the same to have, hold, occupie and enjoy to him, his heirs and assigns forever;" and to forcibly exclude every one therefrom unless they were "subjects of an Christian prince, being in amitie with her Majesty."[156] One must admire the broad spirit of honest humanity exhibited in this and like charters. If the people living at their homes which the grantee saw fit to take were "subjects of any *Christian* Prince" they were to be protected and not disturbed. But if they chanced to be "savages" peacefully pursuing their own affairs, what then? Why, the Devil must be left "to take care of his own." In 1579 Gilbert, in spite of Spanish opposition, started, but, after a fight with Spaniards, returned next year to Egland. He

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[153] Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 40; 4 Ibid., 1884, 44.
[154] Weise's Discoveries of America 1884, 145; 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 13-14; W. Irving's Life and Voyages of Columbus, B. 5, C. 8.
[155] Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 145.
[156] Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 306.

went, however, in 1583, to Newfoundland and Cape Breton, and, on his return for England perished in the sinking of his ship.[157]

[157]Ibid., 320-358.

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH CLAIM

Walter Raleigh or Ralegh, half-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, was descended from an old family of Devonshire, England, and was born at Hayes in Devonshire in 1552, the son of Walter Ralegh. This name of Raleigh is said to have been spelled in so many ways that no one knows which is correct.[158] "His patronymic was written in thirteen different ways, but Sir Walter himself spelled it Ralegh."[159] He became a soldier, and served from 1569 for six years in France against the Spaniards and in the Netherlands, and in Ireland against the Irish insurrectionists in 1580 and 1581. Returning to England he became a great favorite with Queen Elizabeth who gave him much property and facilities for acquiring property. He had been concerned in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's plans for colonization in America. On March 25, 1584 Queen Elizabeth issued "The letters patents, granted by the Queene's Majestie to Mr. Walter Ralegh, now Knight, for the discovering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the space of six years and no more."[160]

This charter provides that he should "have, hold, occupie and enjoy to him, his heirs and assignes, and every one of them for ever, all the sayles of all such landes, territories and countries so to be discovered and possessed, reserving always to us, our heirs and successors, for all services, dueties, and demands, the fifth part of all the care of gold and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoveries, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obteined," with "full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, governe, and rule by their and every of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capitail, or criminall, as civill, both marine and other, all such our subjects, as shal from time to time adventure themselves in the said iournies or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countries, or

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[158]22 Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 869; 2 Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, 1870, 1726, giving seven spellings.

[159]5 Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1894, 162; See 3 Disraeili's Coriosities of Literature, Secret History of Sir Walter Raleigh, Chandos Classics, 111, Note 4; I Cayley's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, 1806, 1-2; Welse's Discoveries of America, 1884, 350-351.

territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200 leagues of any of the sayde place or places, where the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or any of his or their associates or companies, shall inhabite within 6-yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them devised, or established, for the better government of the said people as aforesaid. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be as nere as conveniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, government, or pollicie of England, and also as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe profesed in the Church of England, nor in anywise to withdrawe any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the allegeance of us, our heires and successors, as their immediate Soveraign under God." There was also given thereby to Ralegh, his heirs and assigns power to "from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist as well by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all and every such person and persons, whatsoever, as without the especiall liking and licence of the sayd Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayde Countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such Countreys as aforesayde (if they shall not bee before planted and inhabited within the limits as aforesayd with the subiects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with us) where the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their, associates or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies." This charter also did "grant to our trusty and welbeloved servant Walter Ralegh, Esquire, and to his heires and assignes forever, free liberty and licence from time to time and at all times

for ever hereafter, to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed by any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heirs and assignes and to every or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to have, holde, occupy and enjoy to him, his heires and assignes for ever. All which lands, countries, and territories shall for ever be holden of the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, of us, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the sayd payment of the said fifth part, reserved onely for all services."[180] In this charter the "salvages" met with as little consideration as in the Sir Humphrey Gilbert charter. Indeed, they may not be "encountered and expulsed" should they "attempt to inhabite within the sayde countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such countreys as aforesayde" where the said grantee, "his heires or assignes, of any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associats or company" shall not "within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings and abidings," provided, of course, that they should plead their exemption in due season under the provisions of the charter and before the proper tribunal. But any of them whose homes lay within the "countreys" chosen by the grantee "his heires or assignes" or "within the space of two hundreth leagues neere" thereto might for six years be "encountered and expulsed" from those homes, since they were not "Christian people" nor subjects of a "Christian prince."

Having obtained this charter, Raleigh sent out an expeditions of two barks under Captain Philip Amadas and Captain Arthur Barlowe respectively in April, 1584 to make explorations. These vessels reached America on July 4, 1584 and, sailing along the coast for one hundred and twenty miles, landed on the 13th of that month and took possession in the name of the queen to the use of Raleigh "according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises."

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[180]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 276-282; 1 Edward's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, 1868, 51, 80-93, 180; Fuller's Worthies of England, "Sir Walter Raltigh;" Life prefixed to Thomas Birche's Edition of Raleigh's Works 1751; C. Whtehead's Life and Times of Sir Walter Ralegh, 1854; Mrs. A. T. Thomson's Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, 1846; J. T. St. John's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, 1868 B. Marshall's Sir Walter Raleigh, 1914; Cayley's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, 1806.

The explorers were on the coast of the present North Carolina. They were received and treated by the Indians with the greatest hospitality, traded and exchanged visits and presents with them, explored the country and learned about it all they could from the Indians. They found there an island called Ronoak or Roanoak, now bearing the latter name and being in the present Albermarle Sound. Four days' journey to the southwest from where they were at one time was an Indian town called Sequotan "neere unto which, sixe and twentie yeeres past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people, whom the countrey people preserved. And after ten dayes remaining in an out Island uninhabited, called Wocokow, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan, fastened two boates of the countrey together and made mastes unto them and sailes of their shirtes, and having taken into them such victuals as the countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weekes; but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found upon the coast east a land in another Island adjoining." When Raleigh's explorers had spent some time in this new land they returned to England with wonderful accounts of the attractions of the country which they had so visited, praising it and its inhabitants in the highest terms.[161]

Soon, in 1585, on April 9, Sir Walter Raleigh sent out from Plymouth, England, a number of colonists in seven ships under the command of "Sir Richard Greenvile" or 'Greenevil' (Grenville) bound for this new land explored the year before by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow or Barlowe to which Raleigh had now by permission of Queen Elizabeth given the name of Virginia in her honor as the virgin queen. Stopping for a time at "the Island of S. John" (Porto Rico) where they fired the woods because not given provisions, and seized two Spanish frigates, "being many of us stung before upon shoare with the Muskitos," and visiting Hispaniola, where, on June 5, they were entertained by the "Governor accompanied with a lusty Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their servants, and negroes"

[161]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 282-293.

and permitted to join in killing "a great heard of white buls, and kyne brought together from the mountains" and other islands. They came, on June 20, to "the Maine of Florida" and on the 23rd "were in a great danger of a wracke on a beach called the Cape of Feare," and on the 26th arrived at Wocokon, "where through the unskilfulnesse of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on the ground, and sunke." On July 15th they "came to Secotan, and were well entertained theere of the Savages" and, on the 16th, returned thence, and "one of our boates with the Admirall was sent to Aquascogok, to demand a silver cup which one of the Savages had stollen from us, and not receiving it according to his promise, wee burnt, and spoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people being fled." On the 25th Sir Richard Grenville left for England and "about the 31. he tooke a Spanish ship of 300. tunne richly loaden, boarding her with a boate made with boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunke at the ships side, as soone as ever he and his men were out of it."

Then the command of the colony devolved upon "Master Ralph Lane." There it remained a year, exploring southward to Secotan eighty miles from the headquarters on Roanoak Island, northward to the Chesepians one hundred and thirty miles from Roanoak, northwest to Chawanook about one hundred and thirty miles from Roanoak. Emulating the barbarities of the Spaniards and the French, they treated the Indians in a brutal manner, imprisoning and torturing them and robbing them of their supplies of food; while the colonists did nothing for their own support but roamed about hunting for gold and copper mines. The chief ("king") of Chawanook was Menatonon, a lame man Without any provocation Lane made him a prisoner. From this Indian Lane learned that some days journey to the northeast was a country on the sea where pearls were plentiful and where the "King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we have." There was a large river running with a strong current, from the west and southwest, "in all those parts most famous, called the River of Moratoc. This River openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok" (Albemarle), adjoining Chawanook. "Not onely

Menatonon, but also the Savages of Moratoc themselves doe report strange things of the head of that River, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent stream; and further that this huge rock standeth so neere unto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from the Sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that fresh water for a certain space, groweth salt and brackish." Lane also learned that up this river were people called Mangoaks and "that there is a Province to which the said Mankoaks have recourse and traffique up that River of Moratoc, which hath a marveilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Savages dwelling up the said river, and also to the Savages of Chawanook, and all them to the westward, but also to all them of the Maine: the countries name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoaton. This minerall they say is Wassador, which is copper—very soft and pale. They say that they take the saide mettall out of a river that falleth very swift from hie rockes and hils, and that they take it in shallow water: the manner is this. They take a great bowle by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a skinne over the hollow parte thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the minerall, that done, they watch the coming downe of the current and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the said bowle with the skinne, and receive into the same as much oare as, will come in, which is ever as much as their bowle will holde, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melteth, and doeth yeeld in fine parts at the first melting, two partes of mettall for three parts of oare. For this river of Moratico promiseth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey, either riseth from the Bay of Mexico, or els from very neere unto the same, that openeth out into the South Sea." Lane made a tour up this river of about five days, but being unable to steal provisions from the Indians, returned to Roanoak, his party having suffered greatly from

hunger. He claimed to have discovered a conspiracy of the natives to destroy the white people of the settlement. He invented a falsehood in order to get an opportunity to slaughter the Indians. A fight followed in which several Indians were slain. About this time, June 1586, Sir Francis Drake, the famous English seaman, who had been cruising against the Spaniards among the West Indies and on the Spanish mainland, arrived on the North Carolina coasts, and, at the request of the colonists, carried them to England where they arrived July 27, 1596 (1586).[162] Thus endeth the first attempted English colonization in America. As such attempt it was a complete failure. But it was not without some notable results and remarkable associations.

Thomas Cavendish ("Tomas Candish") was one of those colonists.[163] This man (1560-1592) was "the second English navigator of the globe,"[164] Sir Richard Grenville, or Greenville, or Grinvil, or Grinville, or Granville was famous for his seizing the Spanish ship in a sort of chicken-coop and for his fight near the Azores in the Revenge with fifty-three Spanish vessels on August 31, 1591, in which fight he lost his life. Of this Sir Walter Raleigh wrote an account as being the friend and cousin of Grenville,[165]. The great English seaman, Sir Francis Drake (1540-1596) who carried back the colonists to England, had on his expedition of 1586-1585 done much damage to the Spaniards in the new world, burning towns and among them Saint Augustine and looting property.[166]

This was probably the most famous of that large number of distinguished English mariners of whom his age was so remarkably profilic and who shed such lustre on the reign of Elizabeth. Born at Tavistock, Devonshire, England, about 1540 or 1545, educated at the expense and under the care of his great kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, he commanded a vessel in the latter's fleet when but twenty years of age, engaged with Hawkins in the negro trade, was in 1570 commissiond a privateer by Elizabeth, went in 1572 on a cruise in the west against the Spaniards and sacked their

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[162]Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 284.
[163]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 294.
[164]3 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 1267-1272.
[165]8 Ibid., 565-567.
[166]5 Ibid., 1331-1347; 2 Lodge's Portraits, Cabinet edition, 237-247; 5 Arber's English Garner, 1909, 121-294; 2 Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1905, 119-149.

Thomas Cavendish

ENGLISH NAVIGATOR, WHO ACCOMPANIED SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE TO AMERICA IN 1858

town of Nombre de Dios on the Columbian coast of South America, and crossed the Isthmus of Panama to a point where from a tree he was the first Englishman to see in the west the Pacific Ocean and resolved "to sail an English ship in those seas," and often doing much damage to the Spanish shipping, returned to England in 1573. Then, on December 13, 1577, with five ships he started around the earth, passed through the Straits of Magellan with one ship, plundered the Spanish coasts of the Pacific, reached British Columbia in search of a passage by water to the Atlantic Ocean, named the country New Albion, doubled the Cape of Good Hope and reached England November 3, 1579, the first Englishman to circumnavigate the earth. In 1585 he went with twenty-five ships against the Spaniards in the west, took several of their towns and burned Saint Augustine in Florida and carried Raleigh's colonists from North Carolina to England. In 1587 he sailed to Spain and at Cadiz burned ten thousand tons of shipping designed for a part of the Invincible Armada, thus, as he said "singeing the King of Spain's beard," committed other depredations there, and, on his return, captured near the Azores a Spanish treasure-ship. Drake became vice-admiral in 1588 and rendered great service in repelling the Invincible Armada. After other feats he went in 1595 against the Spaniards in the west and died on shipboard of dysentery near Nombre de Dios on January 28, 1595 and was buried at sea near Porto Bello.[167]

Among these first colonists of Raleigh was the artist, John White or With (cir. 1585-1593), who became the governor of Raleigh's next colony in North Carolina. While there in 1585-1586 White made twenty-three drawings of Indian subjects and a map of the country which formed the basis of the subsequent "Map of Virginia," 1612, of John Smith. In 1590 DeBry published copper plates of these drawings as illustrations to an edition at that time issued by him of Thomas Hariots' "Briefe and True Report of the new found land of Virginia." Probably these drawings give the earliest and best pictorial views of the

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[167]2 Lodge's Portraits, Cabinet Edition, 237-247; 5 Stephen and Lee's Dictonary of National Biography 1908, 1331-1347.

early Indians of the North Carolina coast,[168]. There were however, many others of these White's pictures yet extant,[169].

But, by far, the greatest man in Raleigh's first colony, was the mathematician, astronomer, naturalist, philosopher, and historian, Thomas Harriot, Hariot, Harriott, or Heriot, (1560-1621),[170]. No doubt Thomas Hariot was the most illustrious of North Carolina's citizens. He was born at Oxford, England, and after graduating B. A. on February 12, 1580 at Oxford University, he became the mathematical tutor of Sir Walter Raleigh, in whose service he went to what is now North Carolina in Raleigh's first colony (1585). In 1586 he returned to England with Sir Francis Drake, and in 1588 published in London his "A Brief and True Report of the New-found-Land of Virginia", a work "remarkable for the large views it contained in regard to the extension of industry and commerce," "It excited much notice, appeared in Latin in DeBry's 'Americae Discriptio' (Frankfort, 1590), and was included in the third volume of Hakluyt's 'Voyages' (London, 1600). Among the mathematical instruments by which the wonder of the Indians was excited, Hariot mentions 'a perspective glass whereby was showed many strange sights'."[171] This was the first history of North Carolina, the part of the work relating to plants and animals was the first natural history of North Carolina and of any part of the present United States. Raleigh introduced Hariot to Henry Percy, eighth Earl of Northumberland, who gave Hariot a pension of one hundred and twenty pounds a year or as others say eighty pounds a year. At the same time the Earl of Northumberland became the patron of two other mathematicians, Robert Hues and Walter Warner who, with Hariot, were his constant companions when that nobleman, in 1606, became a prisoner in the Tower on a charge of conspiracy in behalf of Mary, Queeen of Scots. These three mathematicians were known

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[168]21 Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1909, 54-55; 3 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 123-124; 1 Stith's History of Virginia, 25; Henry Stevens of Vermont's Thomas Hariot and His Associates, 1900, 14-16-17.

[169]21 Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1909, 55; 3 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 123.

[170]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 299, 311, 327-358; 8 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 1321-1324; Henry Stevens of Vermonts' Thomas Hariot and His Associates, 1900.

[171]8 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 1321.

there as "the three Magi" and were often companions of Sir Walter Raleigh while he was confined in the same prison. Hariot's reputation rose rapidly. "But", says Anthony Wood, "nothwithstanding his great skill in Mathematics, he had strange thoughts of the Scripture, and always undervalued the old Story of the Creation of the World, and could never believe that trite position *ex nihilo nihil fit.* He made a Philosophical Theology, wherein he cast off the *Old Testament,* so that consequently the *New* would have no foundation. He was a *Deist,* and his Doctrine he did impart to the said Count, and to *Sir Walt Raleigh* when he was compiling the *History of the World,* and would controvert the matter with eminent Divines of those times; who therefore having no good opinion of him, did look on the manner of his Death (which I shall anon mention) as judgment upon him for those matters, and for nullifying the Scripture." Hariot died July 2, 1621 by cancer of the lip, caused by holding brass instruments in his mouth. His works were that above mentioned, published in 1588, and in Latin, French and German with cuts by Theodore DeBry in 1590 and republished in Hakluyt's Voyages; Ephemeris Chryometrica, a manuscript; and Artis Analytica praxis ad equationes Algebraicas nova expedita et generalimethodo, resolvendas, tractatus, posthumus, etc., published in 1631,[172].

This great man among great men procured a telescope from Holland or invented the telescope, and discovered the spots on the sun at the same time as did Galileo. He made some important discoveries in mathematics, among them that "every equation is formed by the product of as many simple equations as there are units in the number expressing its order." He was the inventor of the modern improved system of algebraic notation. It is said that "whatever may be the origin of the name, the science of algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs themselves,"[173]. The name "algebra" is an Arabic word. "After Warner published Harriot's work on algebra, DesCartes adopted the improvements suggested in it, and for a considerable time they were imposed upon the French nation as his own. Wallis afterwards in his 'History

[172]1 Athenae Oxonienses of Anthonyewood, 460-461.
[173]10 Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 1807, Chapter 52, Page 47.

of Algebra' detected and exposed the theft, as also did Dr. Zach, astronomer of the Duke of Saxe Gotha, in 1788, as maybe seen in the astronomical publications of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin for that year. A very full and satisfactory account of the algebraic notation invented by Hariot may be found in the *Histoire des Mathematiques* by Montucla—Tome 2, Page 105-111; and also in the *Allgemeine Encyclopadie,* Von Ersch und Gruber, article *Harmontscher Lehrsatz.* In this latter work (article Harriot), we find a part of the testimony produced by Dr. Zach in support of Hariot's claim against Des Cartes. It is in a curious letter" one thought to be "from the Duke of Northumberland, but really from William Lower," to Hariot which was found in 1784 at Petworth, the seat of the Earl of Egremont, to whom various *MSS* of Hariot, together with other papers, had descended from the Earl of Northumberland. William Lower "Thus writes 'Doe you not here Startle to see every day some of your inventions taken from you, for I remember longe since you told me as much, that the motions of the planets were not perfect circles? So you taught me in the curious way to observe weight in water, and within a while after Ghetaldi comes out with it in print. A little before Vieta prevented you of the gharland for the great invention of Algebra. All these were your dues, and manie others that I could mention; and yet to great reservedness has rob'd you of these glories. But all the inventions be grate, the first and last, I mean, yet when I survei your store house I see they are the smallest things.' "[174] George Chapman, the poet, says: "That his Judgment and Knowledge in all Kinds were deep, and incomparable, and as much to be admired, as his most blameless Life and the right of sacred Expence of his Time, were to be honoured and reverenced." To this Stith adds: "To which might be added other Testimonies which have been carefully collected by the diligent and industrious Mr. *Oldys,* in his accurate Life of Sir *Walter Ralegh,* lately prefixed to his History of the World; who likewise shews, that the famous *French* Philosopher *Descartes,* borrowed much of his Light from

[174]1 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 150-151; 2 Alexander Brown's Genesis of the United States, 1890, 910-911; 3 H. Hallam's Literature of Europe, 1872, 403-407, Part 3, C-8.

this excellent Mathematician; and that the learned Dr. *Wallis* gave the Reference to *Hariot's* Improvement, before *Descartes*.[175]

Christopher Marlowe, the great English dramatist second only to William Shakespear, said "that Moyses was but a Juggler, and that one Heriots can do more than hee."[176] Hariot's Briefe and True Report is prefaced by a letter to the public from Sir Ralph Lane asserting the accuracy of that work, while the treatise itself gives an account of the productions of eastern North Carolina near the ocean and of the people who lived in that region and of their manners and customs.[177] Many of the productions mentioned in it by Indian names cannot now be identified, but many are now well known and the work is still invaluable. Still another man of fame who was connected, as Sir Walter Raleigh's geographer and the general historian of early voyages to America, with Raleigh's first attempt at colonization was "Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, Preacher."[178] Richard Hakluyt was of Welsh lineage and born near London about 1553. While at Westminister School he visited a cousin of the same name of the Middle Temple from whose discourse on geography and cosmography he was led to devote much attention to those subjects throughout his life. Taking at Christ Church, Oxford, the degree of B. A., in 1570 and that of M. A., in 1573-1574 he became a lecturer at Oxford on geography in 1577 and acquired great reputation as a geographical authority. In 1582 he published "Diverse Voyages touching the Discoverie of America." He framed some notes for gentlemen who went on Frobisher's voyage of 1578. In 1583 he went to Paris as chaplain of Sir Edward Stafford, English ambassador, and published there Laudonniere's account of the French attempt to plant a colony in Florida, which, on his return to England, he translated into English. With Raleigh's help he published in 1584, "A particular discourse concerning the greate necessitie and manifolde comodyties that are like to growe to this Realme of

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[175]Stith's History of Virginia, Sabin's reprint, 1865, 20; Henry Stevens of Vermont's Thomas Hariot and His Associates, 1900.
[176]Marlowe's Works, Mermaid Series, 1887, 428-430; 8 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 1321-1323.
[177]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 188, 327-358.
[178]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt. 1889. 173. and title page.

Englande by the Western discoveries lately attempted, written in the yere 1584 by Richard Hakluyt, of Oxforde, at the requeste and direction of the right worshipfull Mr. Walter Raghly, nowe Knight, before the comynge home of his two barkes, and is divided into XXI chapiteres the titles whereof followe in the next leafe."[179] In 1589 he published "The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation", and in 1598 "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation," which has been called the "prose epic of the modern English nation." In 1602 he became prebendary of Westminster and the next year Archdeacon of Westminster; and, he died in November, 1616, he was buried in Westminster Abbey.[180] Then another famous name connected with this first English settlement attempted in America was that of its promoter, Sir Walter Raleigh himself.

This first English settlement in America was thus graced by many famous names. But it was an inglorious failure, begun in piracy amongst the Spaniards and concluded in murder amongst the Indians. Ralph Lane wrote to Sir Walter Raleigh an account of the colony. No other account exists. From his own narrative the picture is a dark one. In his discourse to incite the English people to this and like undertakings, Hakluyt had dwelt at much length on the "cruelties and curse doinges," the "tyranies and devilishe doinges of the Spaniards," in the western world as proof of their unworthiness to have those lands; but Master Ralph Lane, his "most assured friend," who "loved him dearely well" and to whom the first English effort at colony planting in that western world had been entrusted, proved a close rival of all the Spaniards in "devilishe doings." In the story of Lane an Penisapan, it is impossible not to perceive a parallel to that of Cortez and Montezuma, of Pizarro and Atahualpa. And neither Cortez nor Pizarro had shared the hospitality of his victim or lived with the murdered Indian under a league of friendship as Lane had with the chieftain of Roanoke.

Raleigh had planted a colony in the new land which he named "Virginia." The seat of that colony was Roanoke

[179] Ibid., 169-276.
[180] Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 895-896.

Island in the present North Carolina. According to the terms of his charter this gave him ownership of at least a circular territory having Roanoke Island for its centre and a radius of six hundred miles. That territory embraced the modern States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Jersey and parts of Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, New York, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine and a portion of Canada. All these States and parts of States and the portion of Canada constituted Raleigh's Virginia. Any of these States entirely within Raleigh's territory had as much right to the name of Virginia as did the State which now bears that name. This fact is apparently unknown to most writers on American history who, following the practice of writers of the present Virginia, speak of "Virginia" as if the State which now with West Virginia bears that name, was the same and entire country to which Sir Walter Raleigh gave that name and most of these writers seem incapable of grasping the idea that Raleigh's actual settlements were not in the present Virginia at all but were wholly in North Carolina.[181] Some authorities say that Queen Elizabeth herself gave the name of Virginia; others that the name came from Virginia[182] the "king" of the region visited by Amadas and Barlowe.[183]

It was a great grievance to the murdering tyrant, Ralph Lane, that the natives "contrary to their former reverend opinion in shew, of the Almightie God of heaven, and Jesus Christ whom wee serve and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confess the onely God now they began to blasspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God."[184] These Indians had had their first taste of the religion and civilization of Europe. It was of the same type as that which had come to their countrymen in the lands of Mexico and Peru, of Florida under Spaniards and

[181]1 Edwards's Life of Raleigh, 1868, 87; 16 Lee's Dictionary of National Biography 1909, 632; Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia by William Strachey, 1849, 47.

[182]1 Haks's History of North Carolina, 1857, 29; Life by Thomas Birch prefixed to his Edition of Raleigh's Works, 1751, XIII; 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 285; 3 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 110.

[183]2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 153.

[184]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 313

Florida and Southern New France under Frenchmen, of Central America and the West Indies. A very little of any of these kinds sufficed.

It seems that from this first settlement of English in North Carolina, Irish potatoes and tobacco were introduced into the British Islands, carried thither in the fleet of Sir Francis Drake. In his first voyage to America in 1482 Columbus sent some of his men into the interior of Cuba to carry letters to the Great Khan of Cathay (China). They found the Cuban Indians carrying tobacco and smoking it in the form of cigars.[185] Under the name of Uppowoc the Raleigh colonists learned to smoke tobacco and carried the habit to England,[186] although it had been carried to Spain in 1558 by Francisco Fernandes de Toledo, Spanish physician and naturalist,[187] or, as otherwise stated to Spain by Gonsalvo Hernandez de Oviedo.[188] Irish potatoes were carried by these returned colonists to England and Ireland from North Carolina,[189] Adjoining the Chesepians, in what is now Virginia, Lane says that there was the country of the Opossians [190]from the name of which last Indian people of the present Virginia seems to have been derived the name of the Opossum (Didelphis Virginiana) the remarkable marsupial mammal as old as he is ugly, a vast antiquity.

Thus began in North America, through a dishonorable failure, the dominion there over most of that great continent of British power and the English language.

Sir Walter Raleigh profitted greatly by the piracies of his ships under Sir Richard Grenville. At about the time when the latter returned from his first journey to North Carolina and captured a Spanish treasure-ship near the Azores, Raleigh sent out two ships, the Serpent and the Mary-Spark, under Jacob Whidden, John Eversham and others to prey on Spanish shipping in the vicinity of the Azores. These ships left Plymouth on June 10, 1586 and

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[185]Weise's Discoveries of America, 1884, 121.
[186]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 339.
[187]26 Encyclopedia Britannica 13th Edition, 1036.
[188]9 Chambers's Encyclopedia, 1867, 462.
[189]C. C. Rombaughs Gleanings for the Curious. 1891. 343-344; 1 Williamson's History of North Carolina, 1812, 56 note; 13 New American Cyclopeaedia, 1869, 523-524; 7 Chamber's Encyclopedia, 1867, 714; 22 Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Edition. 201; 29 Rees's Cyclopaedia. first American Edition "Potatoe:" 6 Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia, 1895, 736; Grubb and Guilford's "The Potatoe," 1912, 513-514; 7 "Oxford" Dictionary, 1909, 1184-1186; 4 Century Dictionary, 1890, 4648; 18 Penny Cyclopaedia, 1840, 465-466.
[190]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 303.

soon returned with more prizes than could easily be brought in. One of the ships had for a prisoner the Spanish governor of the island of Saint Michael's and another had for a prisoner Pedro de Sarmiento, Governor of the Straits of Magellan, the most celebrated and experienced of all the Spanish seamen,[101]. About the same time Raleigh dispatched another ship, the Dorothy, which came back with prizes taken in the southern Atlantic. He had suffered some losses in a financial way through the disastrous result of his project in colonizing the North Carolina region; but only four invalids of that colony had died. At about this time Elizabeth gave him the forfeited estate of Anthony Barrington and a large domain in Ireland. He aided Richard Hakluyt to publish the latter's celebrated collection of voyages and supported James Le Moyne, the French painter who had been with Laudonniere in Florida and who was thus enabled while living in London to complete the pictures of Indian life which he had sketched in Florida. It was at about this time too that Raleigh became Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries in Devon and Cornwall, and Captain of the Queen's Guard, and Lieutenant General of the County of Cornwall,[102]. Raleigh possessed an inordinate ability for unpopularity. His good fortune alienated the indifferent, embittered the inimical and excited the jealousy of many powerful friends. The favoritism which he enjoyed with the silly and unprincipled Elizabeth, much lauded for acts which she did not perform and for abilities and merits which she did not possess and honored for the achievements of the many great Englishmen of her day, called down upon him and her the open ridicule of the public expressed even in the performances of actors on the comic stage,[103]. Lane had made him feared and detested among the American Indians wherever the English name was known. Raleigh and his nation were loathed by the Spaniards whose commerce he and they were openly robbing on the seas. He must have known that they claimed and had explored the western

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[101]Birch's Ralegh prefixed to his edition of Ralegh's Works, 1751, Vol. 1, Page XVI, 3.

[102]Life by Thomas Birch prefixed to his Edition of Ralegh's Works, 1751, Vol. 4, P. XV., XVII., XVIII., XX.; Edwards's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh 1868, 67.

[103]Life by Thomas Birch prefixed to his Edition of Ralegh's Works, 1751. XVII-XVIII.

and southern lands on which he was attempting a settlement. From their treatment of the Huguenots in Florida under Ribault and Laudonniere he was appraised of the fanaticism and brutality with which they would protect that claim. He knew that these Spaniards in America were aware of his attempt at planting a colony there and of the place at which that attempt was made.[164] Under such circumstances, when hated and envied in England, intrigued against by astute and influential countries for the favor of a weak and capricious female in power, hated for the brutal crimes of his agents in North Carolina by natives who thirsted for revenge, and hated and watched by a vigilant and unsparing and ruthless foe like the Spaniards having forces not far from the North Carolina coast and having more than one mortal affront to retaliate, it seems almost impossible that Raleigh would seriously contemplate the sending to the same place of another small party to form a settlement in that region, especially a party composed, as the former colony had not been, in part of women. Yet that is what Raleigh did.

When Grenville returned to England from transporting the first colony to America, he left that colony in August 1585 with the promise that he would come back to it before the next Easter. He did not come. They abandoned the settlement and went with Sir Francis Drake to England. Raleigh had sent to that colony a ship of one hundred tons loaded with supplies. It arrived after the colonists had gone. Fourteen or fifteen days later Grenville came with three ships. He found the place of the settlement deserted; but he "landed fifteen men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all manner of provisions for two years, and so departed for England;" and "not long after he fell upon the island of Acores, on some of which Islands he landed, and spoiled the townes of all such thinges as were worth cariage, where also he tooke divers Spanyards. With these and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, as well outward as homeward, he returned into England,"[165]. These fifteen men left by Grenville on Roanoke Island were never seen again by the English.

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[164] 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 536.
[165] 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt. 1889, 325-327.

Meanwhile Sir Walter Raleigh had enlarged the scope of his American explorations. His half-brother, Adrian Gilbert, of Sandridge in the County of Devon, had formed a project of finding a passage to China and the lands and islands of the East by way of the northwest or northeast or north. On February 6, 1583 Elizabeth had granted him a charter to be exercised under the corporate name of the "Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the Northwest Passage," with perpetual succession, to search out such passage by northwest, northeast, or north and trade with all countries and places so discovered exclusively for five years after the date of the charter, paying to the queen, her heirs and successors one-tenth of all gold, silver, pearls, jewels, and precious stones found or their value.[196] Raleigh was one of the incorporators. They put in charge of their voyage John Davis or Davys, a mariner. He sailed with two ships June 13, 1585. Coming to the northern shores of North America, Davis coasted along them, having "divers shewes of Study or Muscouy glasse shining not altogether unlike to Christall" (muscovite, or mica), and seeing a mountain which he named Mount Ralegh, until he reached a strait which yet bears his name as Davis Strait, and returned to England on September 30, 1585. On May 7, 1586 he again sailed under the same patronage, with four ships, for the same purpose to the same North American shores where he was recognized by his acquaintances among the natives of the preceding year who "hung about the boate with such comfortable joy, as would require a long discourse to be uttered." Exploring this land of ice where at one time "wee found it very hot and we were very much troubled with a flie which is called Muskyto, for they did sting grievously" and at another time were attacked by natives which "wicked miscreants never offered parly or speech, but presently executed their cursed fury." Davis again failed to find the much sought northwest passage, and reached England again on October 4, 1586 and some days later. Under auspices largely the same and still hunting the elusive northwest pasage, Davis began, with three ships, on May 19, 1587 a third voyage to the same coasts of

[196] Ibid., 219-223.

North America, from which he returned to England September 15, 1587. Still the northwest passage was not found.[197]

John Davis was still another Devon man, born at Sandridge near Dartmouth probably in 1550. In 1591 he went with Thomas Cavendish to the Pacific. Failing to get through the Straits of Magellan, he discovered the Falkland Islands in 1592. After several voyages to the East Indies, he was pilot thither in 1604-1605 under Edward Michelborne with the Tiger; and, in returning, was murdered off the coast of Malacca by some ship-wrecked Japanese pirates whom he had rescued. He was inventor of Davis's quadrant and author of The World's Hydrographical Description and The Seaman's Secrets.[198]

Sir Walter Raleigh's repeated misadventures in American colonization had not induced him to abandon that undertaking nor does he appear to have clearly seen the obvious dangers and difficulties to be met in such an attempt. Issuing a charter to John White as governor and twelve assistants appointed by himself and thereby incorporating them under the name of " Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia," he sent them, with one hundred and fifty men and three ships, on April 26, 1587, to his land of Virginia to form there a settlement. On the 16th "Simon Ferdinando, Master of our Admirall, lewdly forsooke our Fly-boate, leaving her distressed in the Bay of Portugal," but that boat rejoined them at Roanoake. Ferdinando promised that they should get salt at Rosse Bay, but when they arrived at that place said that he did not know whether or not that was the place where they were to get salt. Having brought the ship into three and a half fathoms water, "he suddenly began to sweare and teare God in pieces, dissembling great danger and crying to him at the helme, beare up hard; so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes." He refused to stop at Porto Rico, saying that he would anchor at Hispaniola where he wished to see his friend Alanson and get cattle and other things. When, on the two following days they sailed by Hispaniola Ferdinando refused to stop, saying that

[197] 1 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 224-274.
[198] 5 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 656-659.

Sir Walter Raleigh had told him that the French ambassador said that the King of Spain had sent for Alanson to come to Spain; and for that reason he thought Alanson was dead. On July 16, 1587, they "fel with the maine Virginia" at what Ferdinando thought to be the Island of Croatoan. Discovering this error, they "bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all cast away upon the breach, called the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length upon it." On July 22nd they came to Hatorask. White with forty men then started in the pinnance to Roanoke to hunt for the fifteen men left there by Grenville in 1586; intending, after conferring with those men about the state of the country, to return to the fleet "and passe along the coast, to the Bay of Chesepiok where we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge given us among other directions in writing under the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh: but as soone as we were put with our pinnesse from the ship, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to return for England, called to the sailers in the pinnessee, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but to leave them in the Island, except the Governour, and two or three such as he approved, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the saylers, both in the pinnesse and shippe, persuaded the Master, wherefore it booted not the Governor to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sunne-set went aland on the Island, in the place where our fifteen men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, saving onely wee found the bones of one of those fifteene which the Savages had slaine long before."

Chesapeake, according to some writers is a name derived from an Indian word meaning "mother of waters,"[199] but according to others the name comes from an Algonquian word "K'che-Sepiack," country on a great river.[200] Ralph Lane speaks of the Chesapeake country as "the Chesepians

[199] Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia, 1895, 233.
[200] Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1907, 249.

distant from Roanoake about 130 miles.[201] It seems that Giovanni Verrazano discovered the Chesapeake Bay in 1523.[202] It is said that Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon reached Balira Santa Maria, Chesapeake Bay, in 1526.[203] In 1566 Pedro Menendez sent out an expedition to form a missionary settlement on the shores of the bay of Santa Maria, Chesapeake Bay, but the expedition went to Spain. In 1570 he sent another expedition to form a missionary settlement to the same region of Chesapeake Bay, then called Axican, which landed there but, with the exception of one person, the members of the expedition were massacred by the Indians.[204] Menendez Marques, nephew of Pedro Menendez who founded Saint Augustine, in a voyage from the Spanish fort of San Felipe at Saint Helena, South Carolina, in 1573 explored the Bay of Santa Maria, Chesapeake Bay.[205]

Simon Fernando was a Portuguese whose conduct was suspicious at the landing of the Lane Colony and throughout the journey of the White colony. He had been a pirate. White complained bitterly of him but Lane praised him.[206] In the service of Secretary of State Walsingham Simon Fernando sailed from Dartmouth in 1579 on a three months voyage in a "little frigate" to Norumbega, but the purpose of the expedition is now a matter of conjecture.[207] He was "the Master and the Pilot of the Admirrall," one of the "two barkes" engaged in the Amadas and Barlow expedition.[208] About a week after White's arrival some Indians killed George Howe, one of the Assistants. At Croatoan the settlers learned that Grenville's fifteen men left there had been killed by the Indians, except some who escaped to Hatorask, which they left after some stay. White went to work, killing Indians in revenge until he discovered that he was murdering friendly Croatoans. It seemed that with these Raleigh Colonies the first thing was to commit an impru-

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[201]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 303.
[202]B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 163.
[203]Ibid., 251.
[204]Ibid., 230; D. G. Brinton's Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, 1859, 154-155; C. Campbell's History of Virginia, 1860, 18-19; G. R. Fairbanks's History of Florida, 1871, 156-157.
[205]C. Campbell's History of Virginia, 1860, 18-19; D. G. Brinton's Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, 1859, 154-155; B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, Second Series, 1875, 230.
[206]J. A. Doyle's English in America, Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas, 1882, 81 and note, 93.
[207]3 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 171, 186.
[208]2Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 282-284.

dent crime and then discover that in it they had perpetrated an inexcusable and stupid blunder.

On August 18, 1587 "Elenor, daughter of the Governour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanok, and the same was cristened there the Sonday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia." White, in accordance with an arrangement with his fellow colonists, returned with the ships to England in order to get supplies for the colony. He started on his return August 27, 1587, and arrived in England November 5, 1587.

Before White left North Carolina this time there was born in the colony, after Virginia Dare, a boy who seems to have received no given name before White's departure but whose surname was Harvie, probably the son of the colonists Dyonis Harvie and wife Margery.[209]

The Lane colony was formed of men only; the White colony contained, besides men, seventeen women and nine children. The only account of this second attempt at planting an English colony in North Carolina was written by John White and is a very confused and, in some respects, a contradictory performance.[210]

Philip the Second, King of Spain, had grown restive under the wrongs and indignities constantly received by him and his people from the disingenous, ungrateful, and perfidious Elizabeth and her piratical subjects who preyed on his commerce and assisted his rebellious vassals in the Netherlands. Accordingly he prepared and sent against England in July, 1588, the celebrated Invincible Armada. This great armament proved singularly inefficient; but its threatening movements interrupted the attempts of Raleigh and White to succor the colonists in North Carolina. One expedition, started for this purpose in 1588, failed to reach

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[209] Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 358-73, 888, 536; Smith's True Relation of Virginia, Dean's Edition, 28; Lawson's History of Carolina, 1860, 108, 109; 18 Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, 527; 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 115; 1 Martin's History of North Carolina, 1829, 35; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 48; 1 William Strachey's History of Travaile into Virginia Britannica, 1849, 26.

[210] Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 358-73, 388, 536.

America.[211] Another expedition fitted out by John Wattes, a London merchant, started March 20, 1590, for the Americalands and carred John White and his chest. Cruising against Spanish ships until August 12, 1590, they on that date anchored at the northeastern end of Croatan Island and three days later at Hatorask. Their search for the colonists revealed only long deserted quarters. Their inhabitants were gone. It was the "Lost Colony." And the Lost Colony it remains. No one knows its fate. The attempt to form the settlement there at that time was reckless. If the hostile Indians did not destroy it, the hostile Spaniards would. If both had failed the settlers would destroy themselves. Destruction was sure. How it came is a matter of speculation.[212] See 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 536. This speculation began about seventeen years after it was found that the colony had disappeared and rumors and Indian stories about the matter were and are rife.[213] People of romantic tendencies, sometimes purporting to write history, have found in this Lost Colony much occasion for the gratification of their proclivities. Especially has the story of Virginia Dare, the first child of English parentage born in America furnished them with fascinating materials. Stories have been produced about her, folklore has been produced on the subject, statues have been cut in marble of her as a beautiful and refined young lady dressed in the most imposing costume of Parisian fashions, and her name has been bestowed upon the North Carolina county of Dare. Yet everything that is known about her occurred when she had not reached the age of three months. The remainder of her life, if it had a remainder even for a day, is without any data to warrant a probable guess. As every member of the human family has enjoyed the fortune of Virginia Dare in being born, it would seem that this single fact in her career was scarcely uncommon enough to justify so great a waste of cheap sentiment. The boy Harvie, the first boy of English parentage born in America, has been excluded from

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[211] T. Birch's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh prefixed to his Edition of Raleigh's Works, 1751, XIX-XX.

[212] Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 373-388.

[213] Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 115; 1 William Strachey's History of Travaile into Virginia Britannica, 1849, 26; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 48; Smith's True Relation of Virginia, Dean's Edition, 28; Lawson's History of Carolina, 1860 Edition, 108-109.

The arriual of the Engliſhemen in Virginia. II.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S EXPEDITION TO ROANOKE ISLAND (JOHN WHITE, CARTOGRAPHER)

all share in this lavish admiration bestowed upon Virginia Dare whose only known superiority is that her advent into mundane affairs preceded by less than three months. Certainly the somewhat unusual designation given to the girl's father and the folly of the voyage and venture which so shortly antedated her appearance would preclude the idea that she was the inheritor of great intellectuality.

In 1590 Edmund Spenser published his great poem, The Faerie Queene, which he dedicated "To the most high, mightie and magnificent Empresse renowned for pietie vertue and all gratious government Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland *and of Virginia* Defendour of the Faith, etc., her most humble servant Edmond Spenser doth in all humilitie dedicate present and consecrate these his labours to live with the eternitie of her fame." Thus North Carolina then the only known Virginia, is coupled in English literature with one of the world's greatest and most famous poems. Spencer prefixed to that work "a letter of the author's," dated "23 January 1589," "to the Right Noble and Valorous Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, LoWardein of the Stanneryes and her Majesties Lieftenant of the County of Cornewayll," whom elsewhere he intitled "The Shepherd of the Ocean," explaining the work.[214]

In 1595 Raleigh went on an expedition to South America in search of El Dorado and later sent two other expeditions in the same credulous quest in which other distinguished Englishmen were concerned.[215] In 1600 he was made Governor of Jersey.[216]

Queen Elizabeth died March 24, 1603 and James VI. of Scotland, son of Mary Queen of Scots, succeeded to the English throne as James I. James was told that Raleigh opposed his succession, so Raleigh was removed from the places of captain of the guard, warden of the Stannaries, and Governor of Jersey and deprived of other benefactions from Elizabeth. James hated Raleigh because Raleigh had wished to put limitations on the royal power and because

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[214]1 Spenser's Poetical Works, 1842, XIII, 3-10.
[215]T. Birch's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh prefixed to his Edition of Ralegh's Works, 1751, XXIX-XXX.
[216]Ibid, XLIV.

Raleigh was the enemy of Spain to which country James was subservient.[217] Soon Raleigh was arrested on the charge of conspiring to put Arabella Stuart on the throne. There followed a trial so infamous in its character and conduct that it exceeds the shameful proceedings of the Bloody Assizes in infamy. Raleigh was badgered, abused, blackguarded, denied his plain rights, perversely and vilely misrepresented, convicted, and sentenced to death and imprisoned in the Tower to gratify the malice and egotism of the throne's contemptible occupant. For nearly twelve years he remained in prison. At last by bribing a favorite of the puerile and vicious fool who was King, Raleigh was released from prison. On March 26, 1617 he set out on another expedition to Guiana in South America in search of El Dorado. There a conflict occurred between his forces and the Spaniards while he was sick. The expedition failed; Raleigh returned to England on June 21, 1618; was arrested on the old conviction and sentence; ordered to be executed thereon October 28, 1618; beheaded October 29, 1618.[218] Much of the malevolence that permitted this foul murder was due to fanatics who hated Raleigh because he was reputed to be an atheist. Coke, the misbehaving prosecutor, said of Raleigh on the trial "Oh! damnable Atheist!"[219] On that trial the "Lord Chief Justice *Popham*" said of Raleigh "that he had been tax'd by the World with the *Defence of most heathenish and blasphemous Opinions.* But the most considerable Authority, which I have met with, to countenance the Suspicions of *Sir Walter's religion,* is that of Archbishop *Abbot,* who, in an Original Letter, never printed, dated at *Lambeth, February* the 19th 161 8-9, addressed to Sir Thomas Roe, then Ambassador at the Mogul's Court, expresly charges Sir *Walter* with 'questioning God's Being and Omnipotence; which *adds his Grace,* that' just Judge made good upon himself, in overtumbling his Estate, but last of all bringing him to an Execution by Law, where he died a religious and Christian death."[220] Thus to these would-be murderers the question is not whether the

[217]Ibid., XLVII-XLVIII.
[218]Ibid., XLIX-LXXXVII; 1 George Borrow's Celebrated Trials, 1928, 37-101.
[219]1 George Borrow's Celebrated Trials, 1928, 77.
[220]T. Birch's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh prefixed to his Edition of Ralegh's Works, 1751, XXV.

accused is guilty of the offence charged against him or has been legally proved guilty of that offence; but whether or not in some matter not connected with the trial or with the offence charged he has honestly dared to adopt a conclusion not dictated by them. In some respects Raleigh was far from being a good man. In most respects he was far better than any of his accusers or judges from the throne's servile tool of Spain clear down to the canting beast on two legs who gloated over the misfortune of a man illegally convicted, brutally persecuted and traitorously murdered.

Raleigh was as versatile as he was able. To his fame as a soldier and seaman, courtier and statesman, scientist and inventor, explorer and colonizer, organizer and patron of learning, he added the fame of a master in the realm of letters. He was eminent as an author in the greatest period and place of the world's literature. He was contemporary in the same land with Shakespeare and Marlowe and Spenser and Milton and Bacon and Ben Johnson and preceded by less than one-fourth of a century John Dryden. His principal works, produced in a life of long imprisonment and wonderful activity, were: History of the World, 1614; Discovery of Guiana; Relation of the Cadiz Action, 1596; Apology for his voyage to Guiana; a Discourse of War in General; a Discourse Touching a War with Spain; a great number of political tracts; and a large body of poems since collected into a volume.[221] "The dissatisfaction at the proceedings against Sir Walter was so general and public, that, in order to appease it, the King found it expedient to vindicate himself in a private declaration,[222] setting forth every minute particular that could be urged in his own favour. This paper appeared in public, signed with the names of nine Privy-Counsellors; yet it did not prove sufficient to allay the murmurs of the people, several of those particulars being observed to be misrepresented, and others appeared in a great measure aggravated. Hence the cry still continued that Raleigh was sacrificed to the Spaniard,—

[221]2 Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, 1870, 1727-1730; 16 Lee's National Dictionary of Biography, 1909, 629-649.

[222]A Declaration of the Demeanor and Carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, etc., Lon., 1618, 4 to, pp. 68; J. Lilly's Bible Anglo-Curiosa, 1869, 108, 145, Reprinted in Harl. Miscell., vol. III.

Life of Raleigh, in Biog. Brit., 1760, v. 3483,"[223] When James first came to London and Raleigh was introduced the King exclaimed "On my Soule, mon, I have *rawly* heard of thee."[224] This was a poor and undignified pun. But James afterwrds heard of Raleigh more frequently than he wished to hear. And the world has heard of Raleigh. And it has heard of James. And the records of the two names in contrast are far from being to the royal advantage. But it must be remembered that if James was a fool and a weakling, Raleigh had voted for the murder of the King's mother, Mary Queen of Scots. Richard Hakluyt, then "Prebendary of Saint Augustine the Cathedral Church of the city of Bristol," planned an expedition "for the discoveries of the North part of Virginia" by the aid "of the Chiefest Merchants and inhabitants of the said Citie" and procured the permission therefor of Sir Walter Raleigh to proceed under his patent, or charter. The expedition, under the command of Martin Pring, left England April 10, 1603. They sailed along the coast of North America from Maine southwestwardly and landed on the shores of Connecticut in latitude north forty-one and a half. The Indians came and "did eat Pease and Beans with our men." "We had a youth in our company that could play upon a Gitterne, in whose homely Musicke they tooke great delight, and would give him many things, as Tobacco-pipes, Snakes skinnes of sixe foot long, which they use for girdles, Fawnes skinnes, and such like, and danced twentie in a Ring, and the Gitterne in the middest of them, using many savage gestures, singing Jo, Ja, Jo, Ja, Ja, Jo: him that first brake the ring, the rest would knocke and cry out upon. Some few of them had plates of Brasse a foot long, and halfe a foote broad before their breasts. Their weapons are Bowes of five or sixe foot long of Wich-hazell, painted blacke and yellow, the strings of three twists of sinewes, bigger than our Bow-Strings. Their Arrowes are of a yard and a handfull long not made of Reeds, but of a fine light wood very smooth and round with three long and deepe blacke feathers of some Eagle, Vulture or Kite, as closely fastened with some binding mat-

[223] Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, 1870, 1727.
[224] Ibid.

ter, as any Fletcher of ours can glue them on. Their Quivers are full a yard long, made of long dried Rushes wrought about two handfuls broad above, and one handfull beneath with prettie workes and compartiments, Diament wise of red and other colours. We carried with us from Bristoll two excellent Mastives, of whom the Indians were more afraid, then of twentie of our men. One of these Mastives would carrie a halfe spike in his mouth. And one Master Thomas Bridges a Gentleman of our company accompanied only with one of these Dogs, and passed sixe miles alone in the countrey having lost his fellowes, and returned safely. And when we would be rid of the Savages company we would let loose the Mastives, and suddenly without cryes they would flee away."[225] The expedition returned to England in September and October 1603.

Pring, then called Martine Prinne went in 1607 on expedition to carry supplies to a party supposed to have gone to New England to form a settlement but which had miscarried. This party of which Pring was one was sent by "the Noble Lord Chiefe Justice, Sir John Popham, Knight," the fellow who presided at Raleigh's trial.[226] In 1613 Pring went under Captain Nicholas Bounton to the East Indies where he became a general and admiral of the English fleets. He died in 1626.[227]

A Company of London merchants called the Muscovy Company sent Henry or Hendrik Hudson on April 19, 1607 to find the way to China by the North Pole. He sailed along the east coast of Greenland, but, failing in his purpose, returned to England, going to the same place for the same purpose in 1608, he again failed and returned. Then the Dutch East Indies Company sent him in 1608 to find a passage to China "by the east or the west." On the way he decided to seek the passage in "North Virginia." He came to the coast five or six miles north of the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. Going northward, he entered New York Bay, September 3. Seeking the Pacific, he sailed one hundred and fifty miles up Hudson River. Then he went to England. Leaving that country on April 19, 1610 for another com-

[225]18 Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, 325-326.
[226]19 Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, 369-370.
[227]Alexander Brown's Genesis of the United States, 1890, 972-974.

pany, he went to Greenland and thence west to Hudson's Strait, named for him, where, after some time his crew mutinied and put him, with his son and seven men in a boat and set them adrift. He was never heard of again.[228]

Bartholomew Gosnold went on an expedition from England on March 26, 1602 to form a settlement in North America, reached Cape Cod and "Marthaes Vineyard"; the party went back to England. Gosnold died at Jamestown, Virginia, August 22, 1607.[229]

On April 10, 1606, James I. made a grant to "Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hakluit, Clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, Esqurs, William Parker, and George Popham, gentlemen, and divers others," empowering them "to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America, commonly called Virginia, and other parts and territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any christian prince or people, situate, lying and being all along the sea coasts, between four and thirty degrees of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctial line, and five and forty degrees of the same latitude, and in the main land between the same four and thirty and five and forty degrees and the islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred miles of the coasts thereof." The grantees were divided "into two several colonies and companies; the one consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers, of our city of London and elsewhere, which are and from time to time shall be, joined unto them, which do desire to begin their plantation and habitation in some fit, and convenient place, between four and thirty and one and forty degrees of the said latitude, alongst the coasts of Virginia and coast of America aforesaid; and the other consisting of sundry knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers, of our cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our town of Plimouth, and of other places, which do join themselves unto that colony, which do desire to begin their plantation and

[228] 13 Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, 294-410.
[229] 2 Edward's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, 1868, 251-253; 18 Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, 302-313; 13 Ibid., 352.

habitation in some fit and convenient place, between eight and thirty degrees and five and forty degrees of the said latitude, all alongst the said coast of Virginia and America, as that coast lyeth." The "said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, adventurers of and for our city of London, and all such others as are or shall be joined unto them of that colony, shall be called the first colony; and they shall and may begin their first plantation and habitation at any place upon the said coast of Virginia or America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty degrees of the said latitude; and they shall have all the lands, woods, soil, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, mines, minerals, marshes, waters, fishings, commodities, and hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said first seat of their plantation and habitation by the space of fifty miles of English statute measure, all along the said coast of Virginia and America, towards the west and south west, as the coast lyeth, with all the islands within one hundred miles directly over against the same sea coast; and also all the lands, soil, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, mines, minerals, woods, waters, marshes, fishings, commodities, and hereditaments whatsoever, from the said place of their first plantation and habitation for the space of fifty like English miles, all alongst the said coast of Virginia and America, towards the east and northeast, or towards the north, as the coast lyeth, together with all the islands within one hundred miles, directly over against the said sea coast; and also all the lands, woods, soil, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, mines, minerals, marshes, waters, fishings, commodities, and hereditaments whatsoever from the same fifty miles every way on the sea coasts, directly into the main land by the space of one hundred English miles; and shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any of the same, for their better safeguard and defence according to their best discretion, and the discretion of the council of that colony; and that no other of our subjects shall be permitted, or suffered to plant or inhabit behind, or on the backside of them, towards the main land, without the express license or consent of the council

of that colony, thereunto in writing first had and obtained."

With the same provisions the grant makes "the said Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the town of Plimouth in the county of Devon, or elsewhere, which are, or shall be, joined unto them of that colony," the second colony, with the like rights to "begin their said Plantation and seat their first abode and habitation, at any place upon the said coast of Virginia and America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between eight and thirty degrees of the said latitude and five and forty degrees of the same latitude," with similar rights and privileges as those given to the first colony. Neither colony was to make its plantation and habitation within one hundred miles of the plantation and habitation of the other previously made. The lands were to be held in free and common usage and not in capite and the colonies were to have councils for their government with one general council in England. A council was established by other articles to "be called the King's Council of Virginia" to exercise control in many respects from London over "any of the territories of America, between thirty-four and forty-five degrees" of north latitude. Changes and amendments in these regulations were soon made.[280] Under these documents, an expedition for colonizing the "first colony" left England on December 19, 1606 and, passing into Chesapeake Bay, entered the river by them named and now called, James River, and founded there, on May 13, 1607, the first permanent English settlement in the western hemisphere, situate on a peninsula formed by that river and called, like the river in honor of the King. This settlement was that of "James Towne" or "James Citty."[281] Through many vicissitudes, not greatly to the credit of its population, this Jamestown settlement survived and spread. Then was fulfilled the prophecy of Sir Walter Raleigh when, in speaking of his "Virginia" undertaking, he said, on August 21, 1602, in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil: "And it were a pity to overthrow the enterprize; for I shall yet live to see it an

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[280] 1 Hening's Virginia, Statutes at Large, 57-110.
[281] Ibid., 119.

English nation."[232] In the time between the arrival of the colony in America and its final establishment more than one change had been made in the documents under which that colony was formed.[233] The progress of that establishment was slow and led to other such changes.[234] At last this colony had become so troublesome and turbulent that, on June 16, 1624 the charter of the Virginia Company, under which it was acting was annulled by a judgment of the court of King's Bench and the country became an unchartered portion of the territories in North America of the British Sovereign.[235]

On August 4, or as sometimes stated October 13, and sometimes October 30, 1629 or 1631, Charles I, British King, granted to Sir Robert Heath, his Attorney General "all that River or Rivelett of St. Matthew on the south side & all that River or Rivelett of the great passe on the north side & all the lands Tenements & Hereditaments lying, being & extending within or between the sayd Rivers by that draught or Tract to the Ocean upon the east side & soe to the west & soe fare as the Continent extends itselfe with all & every their appurtenances & alsoe all those our Islands of beagus Bahama & all other Isles & Islands lying southerly there or neare upon the foresayd continent all which lye inclusively within the degrees of 31 & 36 of northerne latitude, and all & singular the ports & stations of shippes & the Creeks of the Sea belonging to the Rivers, Islands & lands aforesaid, with the fishings of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeons, & of other Royaltyes in the sea or in the rivers moreover of all veines, mines or pits either

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[232]2 Edwards's Life of Sir Water Ralegh, 1868, 251-253.
[233]1 Hening's Virginia, Statutes at Large, 57, 110.
[234]18 Purchas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, 411-412, 414-416, 501, 417-419, 414, 527, 429, 479, 439-441, 447-448, 494, 459, 463, 498, 496, 497, 518; Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, Arber and Bradley Edition, XLVI, LXXVI, CII, LVI, XCVIII, XXXV - XXXVI, IXXXIXVI, LXVIII, 276, LXXXVI, LXXVII, XCII, 106, 109-120, 22, LVI, LXXII, 129, 180, 94, 444, 104, CI-CIII, 535, LXXXIX; John Smith's True Relation of Virginia, Deans Edition, p. 6 note 2, 28, 31, 33-38, 72-73, 44-45, 40, 43, 64, 2; 2 Travels and Works of Captain Jihn Smith, Arber and Bradley Edition, 391, 393, 396, 400, 401, 516, 535, 533, 534, 481, 484, 503-509, 510, 507, 518, 519, 525. 788, 25, 406, 407, 410, 434, 446, 447, 476, 478, 641-642, 472, 529, 539; Ralph Hamois Virginia, 1615, 1860 Edition, 13, 5-6, 40-43, 10-11, 61-68; 3 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1881, 139, 141, 162, 161, 115, 129; J. A. Doyle's English in America, Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas, 1882, 546-548, 160, 152-154, 514-545; E. D. Neil's History of the Virginia Company, 84; William Strachey's Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia, 1849; C. Campbell's History of Virginia, 1860, 121; 19 Purcas's Hakluytus Posthumus, 1906, 5, 13, 14, 106, 44-45, 179-180, 73-84; 2 Alexander Brown's Genesis of the United States, 1890, 710-711, 873, 910-911, 1006-1009; H. Fuller's Worthies of Engand, 1811, 189.
[235]3 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 884, 145-146.

upon or concealed of Gold, Silver, Jewells & precious Stones & all things whatsoever, whither of Stones or metalls or any other thing or matter found or to be found in the Region Territory, Isles or Limitts aforesaid.—But that the aforesaid Region or Territory soe granted & described may be more illustrious by us than all the other Regions of that land & may be adorned with more ample Title. Know that we of our free grace certain knowledge & meere motion doe thinke fit to erect the sayd Region Territory & Isles into a Province & by the fulness of our power & Kingly Authority for us our heires & successors, we doe erect & incorporate them into a province & name the same Carolina or the province of Carolina & the aforesaid Isles the Carolarns Islands & soe we will that in all times hereafter they shall be named."[238] Yet in this grant itself they are called, sometimes "Carolana" and at other times "New Carolana" and at still other times the "Province of Carolana." According to the terms of this patent, the lands so granted were by the said grantee and his heirs and assigns "To be held of us our heires & successors Kings of England in Chiefe by Knights service & by paying for it to us our heires & successors one Circle of Gold formed in the fashion of a crown of the weight of twenty Ounces with this inscription ingraved upon it Deos Opus Sum whensoever and as often as it shall happen that we our heires or successors shall enter the said Region, & also the fifth & part of all the metall of Gold & Silver (which in English is called Gold & Silver Oare) which shall from time to time happen to be found within the foresayd limits & such a proportion of the profitts & commodotyes out of the premises as are fully contained in the instructions & declarations of oures signed with our Royall hand of the date of the presents remaining with our principall Secretary to our use our heires & successors" and "Nevertheless alwaies provided that it shall happen the River or Rivelett or Isles aforesayd or other the premises or any part or parcell of the same to be now granted to any person or persons by us or by our deare father King James, or is now actually possessed of or in-

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[238] 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 5-13, 34, 35; 2 Hawk's History of North Carolina, 1859, 20-21.

habited by any of our subjects or by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State, that then these our letters patents & all in them conteined, soe farre as they contein soe much of the premises soe granted, and are now soe actually possessed & inhabited as aforesayd shall be vòid & of noe effect."

The area embraced in this grant was one of the largest in America ever granted to a private person or private persons. It can be a matter of surmise only as to what was meant by "the River or Rivelett of the great passe," or as it is sometimes elsewhere called when this patent is under discussion, "magno passo," if it be doubted that when it is, in effect, declared to be on the thirty-sixth parallel of north latitude, this means that the stream referred to is either the Chowan River or Roanoke River. It is to be remembered that Ralph Lane, in speaking of the place "whereunto directly from the West runneth a most notable River, and in all these parts most famous, called the River Moratoc. This River openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok. And where as the River Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are moved altogether with the winde: This River of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of the opinion that with oares it would scarce be navigable; it passeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Green-wich and the Isle of dogges, in some places more, and in some lesse: the current runneth as strong, being entred so high into the River, as at London bridge upon a vale water. And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Savages of Moratoc themselves doe report strange things of the head of that River, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fortie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further that this huge rock standeth so neere unto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde coming outwardly from the sea) the waves therof are beaten into said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine

space, groweth salt and brackish.—For this river of Moratico promiseth great things, and by the opinion of Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey, either riseth from the Bay of Mexico or els from very neere unto the same, that openeth out into the South Sea."[237] Up this river of Moratoc "the countreis name is of fame, and is called Chawnis Temoaton."[238] It seems then that the "River or Rivelett of that great passe," was Roanoke River, supposed to reach from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Seas (Pacific Ocean). If this be correct this grant to Sir Robert Heath would include all North Carolina, except a narrow strip on its northern border, all South Carolina and Georgia, parts of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona and California, and likewise a part of Mexico. The description in the grant, however, is not free from inaccuracies and inconsistencies. It is true that John Verrazano is said to have mistaken Chesapeake Bay for the South Seas and he might have considered the entrance to that bay, if he had known of it, the river of the Great Pass to those Seas; but this impression could not have prevailed in English official circles when there had been for a least twenty-two years an English colony settled on a large river entering that bay over which they had repeatedly passed in and out to the Atlantic Ocean and when they had had already explored and mapped that bay's borders.[239] Thus the county of Buncombe as now it is called was covered by the Heath grant. It must have been also included in Ralph Lane's Charmis Temoatan, since the Moratoc River extended to the South Seas, according to Lane's information.

"Sir *Rob Heath* L. Ch. Just. Successively of the *Com Pleas* and *King's Bench,* was then actually created Doctor of the Civ. Law.—This noted and loyal person was born in the Parish of Eatonbridge in *Kent* and baptized in the Church there, educated in the knowledge of the Common Law in the *Inner-Temple,* made Recorder of *London* 10 *Nov.* 1618, in the place of *Rich Martin,* deceased, *Summer* Reader of

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[237]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 306, 311.
[238]Ibid., 309.
[239]18 Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1909, 4; 1 Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, Arber and Bradley's Edition, 342; 2Ibid, 384.

the same *Temple* in 1619, Solicitor General in the year following (being then of *Mitcham* in *Surrey*, and Justice of the Peace for that County) Attorney General in 1625, Serjeant at Law 1632, one of the Justices of the *Common Bench* in 1640, and two years after, or more, Lord Chief Just. of the *Common Bench or Pleas*, he being then with his Maj. at *Oxon.* He hath extant *Objections in a Conference Discoursed by the Lords and held by a committee of both Houses against the Rights and Privileges of the Subject*, 3 Apr. 4. Car. 1-*Lond.* 1641, qr. Upon the declining of the King's cause he fled beyond the Sea, being an Excepted Person by the Parliament, and died at *Caen* in *Normandy* about the end of *Aug.* 1649, leaving then behind him a *Son* named *Edward*, who had his Father's Estate restored to him after his Majesty's return from Exile. One *Robert Heath Esq.* wrote and published, *Clarcstella, together with other occasional Poems, Elegies, Epigrams and Satyrs.* Lon. 1650, in tw. but what Kin he was to Sir *Rob Heath* the Judge, or whether he was of this University, I know not as yet."[240] For more extended biographies of Sir Robert Heath see 2 Campbell's Lives of the Chief Justices, 1874, 34-47.[241] The Heath grant says that the country conveyed is "yet hitherto untild, neither inhabited by ours or the subjects of any other Christian King, Prince or State. But in some parts of it inhabited by certaine barbarous men who have not any knowledge of the Divine Dietye."

He being about to lead thither a Colonye of men large and plentifull, professing the true religion." Much has been said in just denunciation of Spanish fanaticism but this disgusting curse was one from which the English of the same age could truthfully claim no exemption in intrusive character or hypocritical exuberance. The last statement quoted from the Heath grant is contradicted by subsequent developments. It was said that Sir Robert Heath's grant "was taken in trust by sd Heath" for some member of the family of Howard and that he conveyed his rights therein to Henry Howard, Lord Maltravers on December 2, 1637 at about the time when the latter, who became Duke of Nor-

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[240] Anthony Wood's Fasti Oxoniensis, 1721, 26-27.
[241] Stephen nad Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908,34 6-39.

folk, acquired lands in the region of Norfolk, Virginia, and that Henry Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, conveyed the Heath territory to Sir James Hayes, Knight, on June 17, 1678 and with said Sir James Hayes, Knight, conveyed the same territory to Sir James Shaen, Baronet and Knight, on July 25 and 26, 1682; and that Sir Arthur Shaen, Baronet, son and heir of Sir James Shaen, Knight and Baronet, conveyed that territory to Doctor Daniel Coxe, one of the court physicians of Queen Mary and Queen Anne, on June 24 and 25, 1696.[242]

For many years Dr. Daniel Coxe, and, in succession to him, his son, Colonel Daniel Coxe, asserted with vigorous persistency this claim to the ownership of that immense scope of country, alleging that settlements had been made by Lord Maltravers under the Heath grant and the grant so saved from forfeiture under its provisions, but never pointing out clearly and satisfactorily the place or time of any such settlement.[243] The younger Coxe wrote on the subject a book entitled a Description of the English Province of Carolana, published in London in 1722 and republished without the preface and appendix in B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana, Part 11, 1850, 221-276, with some statements partly erroneous, especially about an imaginary distinction between Carolina and Carolana. "In 1698 the Doctor fitted out two armed vessels to explore the regions to which he laid claim. He had already interested the Huguenot refugees in London in his plan, and intended to settle them on the Mississippi. Several of the Huguenot gentlemen volunteered to accompany the expedition. Coxe provided his captains with a map made from Spanish sources, and they found and entered the river, being the first to do so in seagoing vessels. They proceeded up the stream to the point still known as English Turn, and on the way encountered Bienville (Sept. 15, 1699), were warned off by him, but took it coolly and promised to come again."[244]

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[242]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 14-16, 519, 35; R. A. Brock's Huguenot Emigration to America, 5 Virginia Historical Collectons, 1886, 9-10 note, 52-53; Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 239-241.

[243]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 242-243.

[244]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 233 note.

Bienville told them that the river which they were in was not the Mississippi.[245] On August 12, 1663, the Heath grant was, by an order of the King and Council, directed to be annulled, and this was done by inquisition or scire facias.[246] This was claimed to be an illegal method of declaring a forfeiture or was never completed; and the persistence of the Coxes continued even after an order of annulment. At last, in 1769, the British government, on their relinquishment of all claims to this territory, gave them one hundred thousand acres of land in the province of New York.[247]

But these were not the only claimants under the grant to Sir Robert Heath. As soon as the former of two grants to the Lords Proprietors hereinafter mentioned issued in 1663, three rival claims began to be advanced, all professing to be derived from this patent to Heath.[248] One of these made by the Duke of Norfolk's agents was that afterwards made by the Coxes as derived from claimants under the Duke of Norfolk, as just mentioned.

"Mr. Samuel Vassel had as he pretended an Assignment for a tearme not yet expyred for ye latitude of 21, 32 & 33 & ye heires of Sr. Richard Greenefield for ye remayneing part being 34, 35 & 36 who say they never heard of any pretence by Mr. Howard or any of his ancestors untill within these three months neither hath Mr. Howard shewn any pattent or grant for ye same but pretends by discourse abroad yt ye pattent to Sr. Robert Heath was taken in trust by sd Heath for some of his Ancestors.

"Mr. Howard shewes no right nor the Artickles or Instructions by whch he was to plant although often sent for by Mr. Atturney Genl to Mr. Merriott Mr. Howardes Sollissiter.

"Neither hath Sr. Robert Heath, Mr. Howard or any of his Ancestors Mr. Richard Greenefield or Mr. Vassell

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[245] A. J. Pickett's History of Alabama, 1851, 187.

[246] Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1859, 70; 5 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 335; McCrady's South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1899, 55, 56 note 1; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 42-43.

[247] McCrady's South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1897, 56 note 1; Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 234, note.

[248] Hawk's History of North Carolina, 1859, 20-21; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 35.

or any of their Assignes planted any part of this Province there being about 35 years past since ye grant."[249]

It was in consequence of these claims that the Lords Proprietors procured the order of the King in council directing the attorney general to institute proceeding in the nature of inquisition or scire facias or other legal character to have the patent to Sir Robert Heath adjudged forfeited for that "no English whatsoever have, by vertue of any such Grants hitherto planted in the said province, by which neglect such Letters patents (if any were) are become voyd."[250] After this order no claims, except those of the Coxes, appear to have been pressed under this patent to Sir Robert Heath.

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[249] 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 35. See 1 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1859, 199-202.
[250] 1 Colonial Record of North Carolina, 1886, 42-43.

EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON, ONE OF THE LORDS PROPRIETORS

CHAPTER X.

BRITISH CLAIM, CONTINUED

On March 24, 1663, Charles the Second, King of England, granted to Edward, Earl of Clarendon; George, Duke of Albermarle; William, Earl of Craven, John, Lord Berkley, Anthony, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret; Sir John Colleton; and Sir William Berkley, known for many years thereafter as the Lords Proprietors, "their heirs and assigns, all that territory or tract of ground, scituate, lying and being within our dominions of America, extending from the north end of the island called Lucke Island, which lieth in the southern Virginia seas, and within six and thirty degrees of the northern latitude, and to the west as far as the south seas, and so southerly as far as the river St. Matthias, which bordereth upon the coast of Florida, and within one and thirty degrees of northern latitude, and so west in a direct line as far as the South Seas aforesaid, together with all and singular ports, harbours, bays, rivers, isles, and islets belonging to the country aforesaid; and also all the soil, lands, fields, woods, mountains, fields, lakes, rivers, bays, and islets, scituate or being within the bounds or limits aforesaid, with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whale, sturgeons, and all other royal fish in the sea, bays, islets and rivers within the premises, and the fish therein taken; and moreover all veins, mines, quarries, as well discovered as not discovered, of gold, silver, gems. precious stones, and all other whatsoever, be it of stones, metals, or any other thing whatsoever found, or to be found within the countries, isles and limits aforesaid," under the name of the "Province of Carolina;" "saving also the right, title and interest of all and every our subjects of the English nation which are now planted within the limits and bounds aforesaid (if any be)."[251] This Charter empowered the Lords Proprietors "to give and confer, unto and upon, such of the inhabitants of said province, as they shall think, do or shall merit the same, such mark of favour and titles of honour as they shall think

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[251] 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 20-33; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 437-448.

fit, so as these titles of honour be not the same as are enjoyed by, or conferred upon any the subjects of this our Kingdom of England." It authorizes them to appoint judges, establish courts and the procedure in them, hold courts, and make laws not inconsistent with those of England. The lands granted are to be held "as of our manner of East Greenwich in our country of Kent, in free and common soccage, and not in capite, or by Knight service, in as ample a manner as any bishop of Durham in our Kingdom of England, ever heretofore have held, used or enjoyed or of right ought or could have, use or enjoy."[252] The river here called "the river St. Matthias" and in the grant to Sir Robert Heath called "that River or Rivelet of St. Matthew," was the Saint John's River in Florida. It was discovered in 1562 by the French under Jean Ribault, (if not earlier by the Spaniards) and named May.[253] When Pedro Menendez de Aviles destroyed the French Colony under Laudonniere in Florida he named this river in honor of Saint Matthew, on whose day he had achieved the victory, San Mateo or San Matteo.[254] The Spaniards built, in 1586, on the river another fort which they called Saint John's (Fort San Juan de Pinos).[255] No doubt it was from this last fort that the river derived its present name of Saint John's. The sound or mouth of the river was called by the French, River of Dolphins, and by the Spaniards San Augustin.[256] Of course, as in the Heath grant, both grantor and grantees were aware that the country granted was claimed by Spain, as well as by France.

Edward Hyde was born at Dinton in Wiltshire, February 18, 1609, and was the third son of Henry Hyde. He became a lawyer, studied under his uncle, Sir Nicholas Hyde, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and in April, 1640, entered parliament. At first he took sides with the popular party; but afterwards became a royalist and was made

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[252]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 20-33; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 437, 448.
[253]1 Carroll's Collections of South Carolina, 1836, XXXIII.
[254]Ibid; C. B. Reynold's Old Saint Augustine, 1893, 36.
[255]C. B. Reynold's Old Saint Augustine, 1893, 67, 65, 61.
[256]Ibid., 37.
[256]For Biographical Sketches of Charles II., 1630. See E. Lodge's Portraits, Cabinet Edition, 135-154 with portrait; 4 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 84-108; 5 Encyclopeadia Britannica, 13th Edition, 912-916.

Chancellor of the Exchequer and knighted and sworn of the privy council in 1643.

When Charles, Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II., fled to the Scilly Islands Hyde was with him and accompanied him to Jersey, where they were entertained by Sir George Carteret. During two years spent there Hyde began his History of the Great Rebellion, an account of that singular enterprise founded in right and executed in crime, begun by patriots and captured by scoundrels, successful without dessert and expiring in the midst of its triumphs, honored in the sympathy and assistance of some great and good men but controlled by Puritans and other despicable people, promising a world of benefit and accomplishing shame to the race. In exile, Hyde was made in 1657, Lord Chancellor and, on the restoration in 1660, confirmed in that office and raised to the dignity of Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltshire, and, in the next year, of Viscount Cornbury and Earl of Clarendon. Three years afterwards in the House of Lords he was charged with treason by the Earl of Bristol, but escaped condemnation. He was forced from the Chancellorship in August, 1667, and later in the same year being impeached by the House of Commons for corruption, he fled to France; a deserted, persecuted invalid. There he died at Rouen on December 9, 1674, and his body was carried to England and buried in Westminster Abbey. His daughter Anne became the mistress of James, Duke of York, and finally, after she had borne him a son, his wife. From them were descended two sovereigns of Great Britain. Hyde published several works, but none of them is of any value except his History of the Great Rebellion and his Life of Edward Lord Clarendon.[358]

A story has had some currency that a country woman came to London, was tub-woman in a brewery, married the brewer, was left by his will with a fortune, employed Hyde, married him and was thus grandmother to Mary and Anne, successively queens of England.[359] Whether this is true or

[358]5 Lodge's Portraits, Cabinet Edition, 265-279; 4 Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, 1868, 1-135; 2 Hume's History of England, 1854, 441-507; 1 Burnet's History of His Own Times, 1809, passim; 6 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 428-434; 3 Knight's Pictorial History of England, 1849, 703, 830; G. A. Ellis's Historical Inquiries, Respecting the Character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, 1827; Pepy's Diary, 7 Brights' Edition, 1886, September 3, 1667, 324; 10 Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 370-389.

[359]W. Field's Scrap Book, 1856, 377.

not in regard to the wife of Sir Lawrence Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon's grandmother, it is not true as to a wife of the Earl of Clarendon.[260] "He was twice married, first, in 1628, to Anne, daughter of Sir George Ayliffe, who died without issue in 1629; and secondly, in 1632, to Frances, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart., by whom he had four sons and two daughters."[261] Sir Robert Hyde of Norbury and Hyde, in Cheshire, was of a family that had been settled there from the time of Henry 3rd. He was the father of Sir Lawrence Hyde and of Alexander Hyde, who was bishop of Salisbury and died August 22, 1667, having been made Dean of Winchester "through the recomendation of his, Lord Chancellor Clarendon, after the Restoration. Sir Lawrence Hyde was a younger son of Robert Hyde and was the grandfather of Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon, the Chancellor. Lord Clarendon was married twice and both times to women of good family."[262]

Clarendon, the village in Wiltshire from which Edward Hyde's title of Earl of Clarendon was derived, was the place where in 1164, during the reign of Henry II. a general council of nobility and clergy adopted the famous Constitutions of Clarendon which reduced much of the power of the Pope in England and transferred it to the King. Archbishop Thomas a Becket, consented to these constitutions, but withdrew his consent when they were rejected by Pope Alexander III. This conduct of Beckett was partly the cause of his quarrel with the King which cost the unpatriotic English ecclesiastic his life.[263] Clarendon Park (at Clarendon in Wiltshire near Salisbury), the place from which comes the name of the Earldom of Clarendon, was mortgaged by Charles I. for £20,000 and was given by Charles II. to George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, by whom it was sold to Lord Chancellor, Edward Hyde, Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltshire, Viscount Cornbury, of Cornbury in Oxfordshire, Earl of Clarendon, of Clarendon in Wiltshire, and

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[2602] Chambers's Book of Days, 1889, 249; 1 Pepy's Diary, Bright's Edition, 1886, 147 note 1, November 13, 1661.

[261]G. A. Ellis's Historical Inquiries Respecting the Character of Edward Hyde of Clarendon, 1827, 8.

[2622] Chambers's Book of Days, 1899, 249.

[2633] Chambers's Cyclopaedia, 1867, 64-65; G. A. Ellis's Historical Inquiries Respecting the Character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, 1827, 8, 73-77.

Charles II. paid off the mortgage for Hyde,[264]. Lord Chancellor Clarendon built in Picadilly, London, a magnificent palace for himself which became famous. He called it "Clarendon House;" but the public called it "Dunkirk House," (implying that Hyde had paid for it out of money corruptly received by him when he was active in selling Dunkirk to France) and "Holland House"; (implying that the money for its erection had been received by Hyde in bribes from the Dutch). This house, after Clarendon's disgrace was sold to the Dukes of Albemarle and by them to a builder who tore it down and built there Dover and Albemarle Streets.[265]

George Monk, or Monck, was the son of Sir Thomas Monk and Elizabeth Monk, daughter of Sir George Smith. George Monk was born at Potheridge in Devonshire, December 6, 1608. He claimed to be descended from Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and from Arthur Plantagenet, a natural son of Edward IV. At seventeen years of age he went under Sir Richard Grenville in the expedition against Cadiz and rendered service the next year at the Isle of Rhe. He was a kinsman of Sir Richard Grenville. After being from 1629 to 1638 in the Netherlands and acquiring there much reputation for courage and military knowledge, he quarrelled with the Dutch authorities, resigned his commission, and returned to England. There he entered the army engaged on the Scotch border as a lieutenant colonel, and gained great distinction. Going to Ireland as a colonel in February, 1641, he increased his reputation. He displayed coolness, patience, and vigor and was noted for his singular self-control and secrecy; and above all for a prudent attention to his own interests. Lord Leicester appointed him governor of Dublin, but the King would not confirm the appointment.

Ormond suspected him because he refused to take an oath to support the cause of the King in England and sent him under arrest to Bristol. Then he pretended to be a great royalist; and Charles I., made him major-general of the Irish brigade. He was captured on January 25, 1644, by

[264]G. A. Ellis's Historical Inquiries Respecting the Character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, 1827, 8, 73-90.
[265]Ibid., 92-108; 2 Dairy of John Evelyn, Bohn's Edition, 1862, 187 and note 1, 17 for picture.

Fairfax and was imprisoned for three years in the Tower. At last, he was offered an important command if he would take the covenant. This offer he accepted and received command of the troops in the north of Ireland. It has been claimed that he taught Cromwell the art of war about this time; but this claim appears to be unfounded. In 1650, Cromwell placed Monk in command of ordnance in the war with Scotland; and, after the battle of Dunbar, the latter was left with six thousand men to reduce the country there to subjection. This he rapidly accomplished. He and Admiral Dean commanded the British fleet in 1653 against the Dutch; and in two great naval battles, one on June 3 and 4, and the other on July 29, overcame their enemy, both Dean and the Dutch Admiral, Von Tromp, being slain. Charles II. hoped to gain Monk over to his cause, and wrote to him, in 1655; but the latter sent a copy of the letter to Cromwell. The latter, in 1657, had heard it charged that his subordinate was having some correspondence with Charles, and, by way of warning or expression of confidence wrote to Monk: "There be that tell me that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland called George Monk, who is said to lye in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart; I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me."

When Cromwell died confusion followed. Proposals from Charles again were made to Monk and again were rejected. Hesitating some time as to what should be done under the circumstances, General Monk finally took the side of the parliament in some controversies which had arisen and marched to London. He had now become commander-in-chief of the army. At first he obeyed the orders of parliament, but after some time he began to dictate to that body and forced it to admit some excluded members. His friends urged him to declare himself protector but were unable to prevail with him to do so.

England was now tired of rabble rule and fanatic fools, and it seemed that the only alternative was to put on the throne the well-night worthless Charles. The "masses" and "saints" had held high carnival of ignorance, cant, and crime to an unbearable extent, and every one turned for

relief from their orgies and insufferable insolence and folly and villainies to the sovereignty of a profligate reprobate. All saw that the restoration of monarchy was at hand and many were anxious to gain the credit of bringing it about. Monk agreed with Charles to permit that exile to ascend the throne on certain conditions afterwards known as the Declaration of Breda. But so doing he rescued the country from the confusion, bloodshed and oppression which would inevitably have followed the return of a King unrestrained by limitations whose father had perished in the cause of the royal prerogative. Monk could have prevented the immediate restoration and Charles was aware of that fact and acceded to his terms. That Monk served his own interests is undeniable. He served the interests of his country at the same time. Ridding it of the execrable curse of dominant Puritanism, he ameliorated the curse of a restored monarchy. It is impossible to say how great is the obligation which constitutional government in Great Britain was under to George Monk. Nor is that debt small which British arms, on land and sea, must ever owe to this depreciated, if selfish, man.

On the restoration he was made gentleman of the bedchamber, Knight of the Garter, Master of the Horse, commander in chief, and Duke of Albemarle, and received an annual pension of seven thousand pounds. With the army his will was law. The existence of that body gave him power exceeding that of royalty. Yet he fully concurred in the policy which disbanded the troops. When the plague almost depopulated London in 1665, the Duke of Albemarle, regardless of the risk, remained at his post in charge of the city government. In the same year he and Prince Rupert were joined in command against the Dutch. The burden of preparation fell upon the duke and was promptly and fully borne. The battle of Dunkirk began on June 1, 1666 and lasted four days, to be followed by another on July 23. In these the duke exhibited his former coolness and skill and a reckless disregard of personal danger. In 1667 the Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames. The duke was sick at the time; but again this "selfish" man forgot himself and went at once to Chatham to fight the battles of his coun-

try. He died of dropsy on December 3, 1669. Westminster Abbey was honored with his burial.

He hated fanaticism, and it is not strange that fanatics have hated and disparaged him. He scorned a pretentious society which resented his elevation above them and its members never lost an opportunity to misrepresent his character and motives and to sneer at the great man who had done so much for them and at his wife Anne Clarges by birth, "ever a plain, homely dowdy," who was the daughter of a farrier and had a farrier for her first husband, was low and coarse, and had been Monk's seamstress and mistress. When danger came, in plague or invasion, to the nation, fanatics and social pretenders alike turned for help to the despised George Monk, Duke of Albemarle. He was certainly a great soldier and as certainly a dull man,[268]. Like some other English dukes much more honored than he is, George Monk was largely a creature of his time and surroundings. When his son Christopher Monk, second Duke of Albemarle, died in 1688 the family and title of the Duke of Albemarle, obtained with so much toil, became extinct,[267]. Albemarle was an old title of nobility. Stephen, Earl of Albemarle and Holdernesse, was a prominent acter in the first Crusade,[265]. George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, was one of the first promoters of the famous Hudson Bay Company,[269], as well as one of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. In his honor one of the two great inland seas of the North Carolina coast is Albemarle Sound.

There is an interesting matter which was connected with Christopher Monk, second Duke of Albemarle, who was at one time Governor of Jamaica. On June 2, 1687, "There was about this time brought into the Downs a vast treasure, which was sunk in a Spanish galleon about forty-five years

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[268]5 Granger's Biographical History of England with Richardson's plates, 1824, 354-355; Pepy's Diary, Bright's Edition, 1886, November 14, 1665; July 12, 1666; July 30, 1666; November 4, 1666; February 25, and 26, 1666; April 26, 1667; October 23, 1667; November 23, 1667; December, 1667; November 17, 1667; vol. 6 P. 268; vol. 1, P. 264; vol. 5, P. 317; vol. 9, P. 209; vol. 7, pp. 81, 105; vol. 8, P. 42, 73, 94; G. A. Ellis's Historical Inquiries Respecting the Character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, 1827, 75-76; 5 Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England During the Reigns of the Stuarts, 1901, 34-59; 3 Ibid., 41-63; Sir Walter Scotts' Tales of a Grandfather, Series 2, Vol. 2, C. 5, P. 185—1886 Edition 1829; 13 Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1909, 594-609; 18 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th Edition, 723-724; Lodge's Portraits, Cabinet Edition, Vol. 5, 209-222.

[267]R. Davey's Past ond Present, 1898, 268-271.

[265]11 Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 1807, C. 58, Page 56, 77.

[269]Alvord and Bidgood's First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 59.

ago, somewhere near Hispaniola, or the Bahama Islands, and was now weighed up by some gentlemen, who were at the charge of divers, etc., to the enriching them beyond all expectation. The Duke of Albemarle's share (Governor of Jamaica) came to, I believe, 50,000£. Some private gentlemen who adventured 100£, gained from 8,000£, to 10,000£. His Majesty's tenth was 10,000£. The Duke's share amounted to considerably more; not less, it was said, than 90,000£. A medal was struck on this occasion."[1270]

William Craven was the oldest son of Sir William Craven, Lord Mayor of London in 1611, and was born early in 1606. His inclination toward military life, exhibited in youth, led to his going while under age to the continent and serving under Henry, Prince of Orange, in Germany and the Netherlands, where he gained high reputation for intrepidity and military capacity. Returning to England in the spring of 1627, he was knighted on March 4th at Newmarket and on March 12th created a baron with the title of Lord Craven of Hanisted Marshall in the County of Berks. In 1631 the King sent a body of troops to the assistance of the Swedish monarch, Gustavus Adolphus, then invading Germany. Lord Craven was in that body and greatly distinguished himself in the siege of Crutzenach or Crentzenach where he was wounded. When soon after Gustavus Adolphus was killed at Lutzen, Craven entered the service of the young Elector Palatine. When, in 1637, that elector was defeated by the Germans at Limegea his brother, Prince Rupert, and Craven were captured. On recovering his liberty Craven entered the service in Holland of the Prince of Orange in which he continued for twenty years. At about the time of his captivity he formed the acquaintance of Elizabeth, daughter of James I., of Great Britain and mother of the Elector Palatine and Prince Rupert and titular queen of the attempted kingdom of Bohemia, the sister of Charles I., of Great Britain and widow of Frederick, the fifth Elector Palatine and claimant to the sovereignty of a kingdom of Bohemia. Craven devoted himself to Elizabeth, followed her to Holland, superintended her affairs, regulated her household, gave her large sums of money, and almost cer-

[1270] Diary of John Evelyn, Bohn's Edition, 1862, 278 and note 2.

tainly married her. During the civil wars in England he was in Holland; but contributed his income to the support of the crown and of Elizabeth and later to the help of Charles II., in exile. In March 1651 the Parliament declared a confiscation of Craven's property.

At the Restoration Craven was made Viscount Craven of Ussington in Berks and Earl of Craven in Yorkshire, a member of the privy council, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Middlesex, and, on June 30, 1660 Custos Rotulorum of Berks. On the death of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Craven became, in 1670 colonel of the regiment of foot guards called "the Coldstream Guards." He was High Steward of the University of Cambridge, Master of the Trinity House, one of the governors of the Charterhouse, one of the first promoters of the Hudson Bay Company, and one of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. He had the favor of Charles II. and for sometime afterwards was a member of the privy council of Charles's successor, James II., whose esteem he lost. When William and Mary came to the throne in 1688 Craven lost all his places and offices. He died April 9, 1697 at the age of eighty-eight years and ten months and was buried April 20th at Binley near Coventry. Craven had a remarkable proclivity, almost a passion, for a fire of buildings and kept a horse ready to carry him promptly to a conflagration. So prompt was his arrival on such occasions that there was a saying, "his horse smelt a fire as soon as it happened." On such an occurence he would assume control and issue directions, a habit which rendered him of much use in the Great Fire of London of 1666. When in the preceding year that city was visited by the plague, Craven remained in the city, advised as to the best means of checking the fearful ravages, visited the infected and gave land for those who should become its victims. That land was afterwards made the site of Carnaby Market when other land of his estate was substituted for burial purposes at Paddington,[271].

[271] Collins's Peerage, 1768, 93-99; 6 Lodge's Portraits, Cabinet Edition, 247-251; 5 Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England During the Reigns of the Stuarts, 1901, 49; M. Noble's Historical Genealogy of the Royal House of Stuart, 1795, 303; Alvord and Bidgood's First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 59; 6 Lodge's Portraits, Cabinet Edition, 126-137; 1 Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England During the Reigns of the Stuarts, 1901, 143, 192, 212; 9 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 285-286; 25 Ibid., 417; 6 Stephen and Lee Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 651-658; 5 Ibid., 45-49; 7 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th Edition, 383-384.

In describing the expulsion from the throne of James II., Lord Macaulay says: "The King, however, prepared to go to rest as usual. The Coldstream Guards were on duty at the palace. They were commanded by William, Earl of Craven, an aged man who, more than fifty years before, had been distinguished in war and love, who had led the forlorn hope at Crentznach with such courage that he had been patted on the shoulder by the great Gustavus, and who was believed to have won from a thousand rivals the heart of the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia. Craven was now in his eightieth year; but this had not tamed his spirit,"[272]. "This gallant old lord was in command of the guards at Whitehall, when the Prince of Orange's Dutch troops were ordered to mount guard at the palace; 'when the stout Earl of Craven resolved rather to be cut to pieces than to resign his post'. The King, however, interfered to prevent the bloodshed."[273]

"And this brings into my mind some pleasantries of his lordship upon that subject. Once, in good humour, and laughing at himself, he told us that he found by two infallible tokens, he was thought to have considerable interest at Whitehall. One was the respect paid him by the foreign ambassadors; and the other was, the Lord Craven's whispering. As for the first he observed that, in the rooms at Whitehall, whenever any of the ambassadors looked towards him, and thought he perceived it, they very formally bowed; and for the other, that is the Lord Craven, he was an old soldier of the German discipline, and, being also an old cavalier, had a chief command in the guards. Among other of his foibles, which were not a few, one was to seem intimate with rising men, and that by most fastidious whispering of politics in their ear. This inconvenience had found his lordship out; and when he was put past his patience, and escaped to his friends, he used to call him an earwig. To conclude this with a merry story. The King, seeing the Lord Dorset, a prime wit of the time, standing seriously under the infliction of the Lord Craven's whispering for a considerable time together, after they were parted, asked him very gravely, 'what it was that my Lord Craven

[272]2 Macaulay's History of England, C. X.
[273]North's Life of Lord Keeper Guilford, 1826 Edition, 393 note.

said to him?' He answered as gravely, 'What my lord was pleased to whisper, but he did not think it manners to hearken,' "[274].

Craven County, North Carolina, derives its name from the brave, humane, faithful, eccentric old soldier, William, Earl of Craven. "His Excellency William Lord Craven, Palatine," to whom, with other Lords Proprietors, John Lawson, in 1714, dedicated his History of Carolina,[275], was apparently the Lord Craven who was the grand-nephew of Lord Craven, one of the original Lords Proprietors, although this grand-nephew must have been very young for such a position at the time of the dedication and the first Lord Craven was then dead.

John Berkeley was the youngest but one of the five sons of Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir William Berkeley being younger,[276]. All of these sons were knights. John was born probably in the vicinity of the city of London, in 1607. He entered upon a military life, and, in 1638, when an army was raised to march against the Scots who had taken up arms in opposition to the government of Charles I., a command in that force was given to John Berkeley. On July 27 of that year he was knighted by the King at Berwick. When the civil war began in England he was directed to proceed with other officers to the western part of that country to aid in raising an army for the support of the royal cause; but before going he was sent in 1642 to Holland to hasten supplies of arms and ammunition which the queen was to send from that country. Meeting a vessel loaded with these supplies, he returned with it to England by eluding some parliamentary ships on the look-out. In the west he joined the Marquis of Hertford at Sherborne. In 1643, because of the absence of the marquis, Sir John Berkeley and two other officers were put in command of the forces there, Sir John receiving also a commission as commissary general. He met with much success in overrunning Devon. He distinguished himself in the royal victory at Stratton in Cornwall; and, after a seige, captured Exeter. After a seige by Sir Thomas Fairfax of three months, he was com-

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[274]3 Ibid., 393-394.
[275]Lawson's History of Carolina, 1860 reprint, original dedication.
[276]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 180.

pelled to surrender Exeter on April 13, 1645. After a trip to the queen at Paris, he returned to England in order to endeavor to induce the chief officers of the parliamentary army to come back to the royal service. Disputes between the parliament and the army led to a hope that the King would be asked to intervene and the war would come to an end. These disputes, however, were adjusted without the King and the war went on. When, on November 11, 1647 the King tried to escape from England Sir John Berkeley was one of his attendants. Then Charles threw himself for protection upon the loyalty of the governor in the Isle of Wight; but that governor sent information of the King's presence to Oliver Cromwell and placed a guard over Charles as a prisoner of the parliament. Berkeley had, in vain, advised the King to escape and had gone to Paris in order to apprise the queen of the king's danger. In January 1649 Charles was beheaded. James, Duke of York, had fled to Holland in the preceding April and thither Berkeley went by direction of the queen as his governor. On May 19, 1658 Charles II., made Sir John Berkeley a baron with the title of Lord Berkeley of Sratton, the title chosen from the name of the place of Berkeley's victory. At the Restoration Lord Berkeley became one of the privy council; and, on June 23, 1664, by grant from the Duke of York, a proprietor with Sir George Carteret of New Jersey; and, in 1669, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and, in 1675, ambassador extraordinary to France. On August 28, 1678 he died at Twickenham where he was buried,[277]. Lord John Berkeley of Stratton was the second Palatine of Carolina, succeeding as Palatine George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, the first Palatine, on January 20, 1669,[278]. When on the continent John Lord Berkeley of Stratton was Lord Ambassador he participated in the treaty of Minequen, in the Netherlands, made in 1678-1679 between Spain, France, Austria and the Netherlands,[279]. He was one of the eight original Lords Proprietors of Carolina. John Lord Berkeley of Stratton was the great great grandfather of the great English poet, Lord Byron.

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[277] Collins's Peerage, 1768, 51-64; 2 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 361-364.
[278] Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 180.
[279] Diary of John Evelyn, Bohn's Edition, 1862, 117, June 12, 1677; 8 Nelson's Encyclopeadia, 1907, 554.

John, first Lord Berkeley of Stratton had three sons who became successively Lord Berkeley of Stratton, namely Charles, John and William,[280]. The second daughter of William, fourth Lord Berkeley of Stratton, Frances, in 1720, became the third wife of William, fourth Lord Byron. Their second son was John Byron, born November 8, 1723, who became vice-admiral.[281] John Byron, vice admiral, was the father of Captain John Byron and Captain John was the father of the very great poet, Lord Byron. Thus John Byron, vice-admiral, was the grandfather of Lord Byron, the poet, and the great grandson of John Berkeley, first Lord Berkeley of Stratton,[282]. Thus too, Frances Berkeley, granddaughter of John Berkeley, first Lord Berkeley of Stratton, one of the original Lords Proprietors of Carolina, was great grandmother of Lord Byron, the poet. To the same effect. see John Galt's Life of Lord Byron, 1830, 7-8; 3 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 584.

Another family of the name of Berkeley in England was very ancient and very prominent,[284] was of the same origin as the Berkeleys to which belonged Sir Maurice Berkeley, the father of John Lord Berkeley of Stratton. Indeed there was in England a Lord Berkeley contemporary with Lord Berkeley of Stratton, each of them having a town house called Berkeley; and thus some confusion has arisen.[285] The house of John Lord Berkeley of Stratton in Picadilly was replaced by the Devonshire House. This Lord Berkeley married the daughter of Sir Andrew Rickard (knighted July 10, 1662), an eminent merchant of London who was chairman of the East India and Turkey companies.[286]

William Berkeley was the fifth son of Sir Maurice Berkeley and next youngest brother of John Berkeley, Lord Berkeley of Stratton. William was born near London about the year 1610; was elected a probationer fellow of Merton College, Oxford, in 1625; and took there the degree of Master of

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[280]2 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 361, 364; Collins's Peerage, Suplement, 1784, 399.
[281]7 Collins's Peerage, 1768, 39; 2 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 416; 1 Works of Lord Byron, W. Anderson's Edition, Life of Lord Byron, VII-VIII.
[282]2 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 416; 4 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 898; 1 Works of Lord Byron, W. Anderson's Edition, Life of Lord Byron, VII.
[284]Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th Edition, 777-779.
[285]1 Pepys's Diary, Bright's Edition, 1889, Page 81 note 5, March 3, 1660.
[286]3 Ibid., 172-173 note, May 3, 1663.

Arts in 1629. In 1630 he traveled in different countries; on August 9, 1641, was appointed governor of Virginia; and in 1642 arrived at the place of his government. When the civil war commenced in England he espoused the royal side and offered an asylum in Virginia to the royalist fugitives from England. In 1650 he sent Norwood to Holland with an invitation to Charles II. to come to Virginia; and, on June 3, 1650 was by the latter commissioned anew governor of that colony. The Council of State directed Captain Robert Dennis, Richard Bennet, Thomas Steg and Richard Claiborne to reduce Virginia to the authority of the commonwealth; and Captain Dennis reached Jamestown in March, 1652 and on the 12th compelled Berkeley to surrender his authority.[287] Eleven days thereafter the Virginia Assembly elected Berkeley governor and directed writs to issue in the name of the General Assembly. Charles II. was proclaimed King May 8, 1660. On July 31, 1660 he sent Berkeley a new commission as governor. Next year the Governor went to England but came back in 1662. In a report by him of the condition of Virginia made in 1671, he says, with much atrocity as some folks think: "But I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" Troubles with the Indians began in 1676. Berkeley refused to engage actively against the aborigines as popularly demanded, brought on Bacon's Rebellion. Berkeley denounced as traitors participants in this. They retorted the charge, drove him from the colony, greatly injured his property, and burned the statehouse at Jamestown. On the death of their leader, Nathaniel Bacon, Berkeley regained power. This Bacon was the subject of a play called "The Widow Ranter; or the History of Bacon in Virginia" by Mrs. Aphra Behn (1640-1689) to which John Dryden wrote a prologue.[288] Just as Berkeley returned to his government there arrived on February 29, 1677, a fleet sent to quell the disturbance bringing a regiment of soldiers under command of Colonels Herbert Jeffreys and Francis

[287] Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1884, 148
[288] Mrs. Aphra Behn's Plays, 3rd Edition, 106-188; 3 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 657; 1 The Britiash Empire in America, 1741, 387-388.

Morrison. Berkeley and these colonels sat as a commission to try the insurrectionists. Their severity was infamously extreme. They filled prisons, confiscated property and executed twenty-three people before a request from the General Assembly caused an end to the prosecution. Said then Charles II., of Berkeley: "The old fool has taken more lives in his naked country than I have taken for my father's murder." Recalled by the King, Berkeley started on April 27, 1677 for England, where before he could have an interview with the monarch, he died at Twickenham, July 13, 1677, and was buried there. He was the author of "The Lost Lady; a Tragi-Comedy," London, 1639, Folio, which is included in Dodsley's Old Plays in the first and fourth editions of that publication, and of a "Description of Virginia," printed in folio, in 1663, in England. "The Laws of *Virginia* now in Force, collected out of the Assembly records and digested into one Vol., revised and confirmed by the grand Assembly, 23 *Mar.* 1161, *etc., Lond.* 1662, folio. Published by *Franc. Moryson;* and by him dedicated to Sir *Will* Berkeley, in whose Epistle 'tis said that Sir *William* was author of the most and best of the said Laws, and that little addition had been made to what he himself had done during the time of his Government, only what vitious excrescencies had grown in the body of them, by corrupt humour of the times. This Sir *Will Berkeley* was buried in the middle of Chancel of the Parish Church at *Twittenham* or *Twickenham* near *Hampton Court* in *Middlesex* on the 13th of *July* in sixteen hundred and seventy and seven. Afterwards a Vault being made for the Lord *J. Berkley* in the South Chancel of the said Church Sir *William's* body was removed to it, and there deposited 4 *September* 1678. For this Sir *William Berkley* was younger brother as it seems of the said *John Lord Berkeley of Stratton.*"[289] Pepys records on January 19, 1660-1661: "I went to the Leg in King Street and had a rabbit for myself and my Will, and after I sent him home and myself went to the Theatre, where I saw 'The Lost Lady' which do not please me much,"[290] and on the 25th of the same month: "I went to Mr. Crew's and thence to the Theatre, where I saw again

[289] "Anthony Wood's Athenae Oxonienses," William Berkeley."
[290] Pepys's Diary, M. Bright's Edition, 1886, 321.

KING JAMES I, OF ENGLAND, IN WHOSE REIGN THE FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF COLONISTS WAS MADE

'The Lost Lady', which do now please me better than before.[201] At some time early in his career, probably before he went to Virginia, William Berkeley received the honor of knighthood. To his memory belongs the stigma of the great cruelty towards adherents of Nathaniel Bacon. Among these brought before him was William Drummond, a Scotchman, who, by appointment of the Lords Proprietors, had once held the government of the English settlement on Chowan River known as Albemarle and who had been an active participant in "Bacon's Rebellion." When Drummond was brought in Governor Berkeley made him a low bow and said: "Mr. Drummond, you are very welcome. I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour." This malignant threat was promptly executed.[202] This was the Drummond from whom Lake Drummond in the Dismal Swamp got its name. It must be remembered, however, that Berkeley had known his sovereign to be murdered by canting fanatics and was aware that most of those fanatics had escaped the punishment which their crimes merited; and knew that these same conspirators had driven him from his governorship in the day of their power and had put in his place a wretched Puritan; and that now these outrages had been in kind repeated in his own province, and he had been impudently reviled and driven from his home and his property destroyed by men whom he, no doubt with some justice, regarded as members of the same class imitating their British exemplars. These considerations cannot excuse his unpardonable severity; but they furnish some extenuation for action more vigorous than under other circumstances could have been expected. Moreover, these men were the representatives of no leniency themselves and their conduct had been most insolent and vicious. If death had not prevented, Sir William Berkeley might have presented his severity in a light somewhat less odious.[203]

Anthony Ashley Cooper, born July 23, 1621 at Wimborne Saint Giles, Dorset, was the son of Sir John Cooper of Rock-

[201]Ibid., 325.
[202]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, XIII.
[203]2 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 368-369; 1 Williamson's History of North Carolina, 1812, 222-229; J. W. Campbell's History of Virginia, 1813, 253-258, 216-217; 2 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th Edition, 781.

bourne in Hampshire, by the heiress of Sir Anthony Ashley of that place. From his parents, both dead before he reached his tenth year, he inherited large estates in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire. As a gentleman commoner he entered Exeter College, Oxford, in 1637 and remained there for one year. When less than nineteen years old, he was elected in March 1640 a member of parliament for Tewkesbury and sat in that body the next month. At the breaking out of the civil war he raised for the royal cause a regiment of foot-soldiers and a troop of horse-soldiers, of both of which he took command. Appointed sheriff of Dorsetshire for the king and president in that county of the monarch's council of war, in January 1644 he resigned his governorship and commissions and deserted to the side of the parliament. On March 6, 1644 he appeared before that body and offered to take the covenant. "But when the Presbyterians thought themselves sure of him, whip, he was gone (*as one saith*) and in a trice commenced a Brother Independent, which was wise part, and no Trick of a Changling, to shift Principles like Shirts, and quit an unlucky Side, in a fright, at the noise of a new prevailing Party, with whom he staid till he grew up to the size of a great Commonwealth's-man, and made Hay in the Sun-shine, until the Commonwealth and *Cromwell* were brought to bed of a strange new kind of monarchy in the House of Commons; a three or four-hundred headed monarchy called *The Fifth Monarchy;* and in those days it was also called *Cromwell's little Parliament*: in which his little Lordship became one of the Princes among a Drove of Changlings, etc. In 1645 he was elected Sheriff of *Norfolk*, and the next year Sheriff of *Wilts*, both approved of, and consented to, by the Members of Parliament. In *Jan.* 1651, having before taken the Engagement, he was one of those 21 Persons who were appointed by Parliament to sit as a Committee, to consider of the inconveniences which were in the Law, etc., and soon after he was chose one of the *Council of State to Oliver*: in which high office he continued till that Person was Protector. In *June* 1653 he was constituted Knight for *Wilts*, to serve in the said *Little* Parliament that began at *Westm.* on the 4th of July the same year; but there-

in having spied out *Oliver's* Purpose of marching to another sort of Monarchy of his own, Sir *Anthony* then resolved, like a consistent steady man to his own Point, to trepan his fellow Members and strike in with him, and lent him thereupon a helping hand towards the confounding of *Fifth Monarchy*, to make way for a new one under the name of Protector in which Scene of affairs he was made a Protectorian Privy-Councellor."[294]

On August 3, 1644, he became field-marshal general and, later in the year, October 25, commander-in-chief in Dorsetshire. He was made high sheriff of Wiltshire in 1647; and in the Barebones Parliament he set for Wiltshire and supported Cromwell. Soon he was one of the council of thirty and then one of the council of State. After December 28, 1654 he quitted the council and went into opposition to Cromwell, who refused to allow him to sit in the parliament of 1656. When Oliver Cromwell died and Richard Cromwell succeeded, Cooper was still in opposition.

"So that being out of public employs, he was at leisure to make court to all private Malcontents against the Protector, and wheresoever he found a Sore, there he rub'd hardest till the end of the Reign of Richard."[295]

On December 26, 1658 he was one of the commissioners to command the army. Now this acrobatic politician, aged in experience and juvenile in years, having belonged to all the parties exhausted the supply of public offices and political principles, returned to the place of his beginning and became active in procuring the restoration of the Stuarts. So greatly did he exert himself in this last behalf that upon the Restoration he was made in April 1661 Baron Ashley of Wimborne Saint Giles and in the next month appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer and under-treasurer. Actively supporting toleration, he was recognized as one of Clarendon's chief opponents in High Anglican policy. Then he became in 1663 one of the original Lords Proprietors of Carolina, and, in 1669, procured John Locke to prepare or aid him in preparing the "Fundamental Constitutions." He took an active part in the management of the Carolina domain. Both Cooper and Ashley Rivers in South Carolina

[295]Ibid.
[294]Anthony Wood's Athenae Oxienses, "Anthony Ashley Cooper."

are named for this versatile prodigy of agility. Paying particular attention to matters of trade, he was appointed in 1670 a member of the council of trade and plantations, and from 1672 to 1676 was president of that council. He was a member of the "Cabal" ministry. On April 23, 1672 Charles II. made him Earl of Shaftesbury and Baron Cooper of Pawlett; and on November 17 of that year Lord Chancellor. Losing favor with the king, he was dismissed from the chancellorship on September 9, 1673; and, on the 19th of the next May removed from the privy council and ordered to leave London. In 1677 he was sent to the Tower with some other prisoners and not discharged therefrom until February 26, 1778, although in the preceding June he had applied to the Court of King's Bench for a writ of habeas corpus. The agitation about the "Popish Plot" produced by Dr. Titus Oates found a zealous supporter in Shaftesbury, who hated James Duke of York and was eager to exclude that Catholic prince from the succession. In 1679 a new privy council was appointed with Shaftesbury as its president on an annual salary of four thousand pounds. He was the author of the great Act of Habeas Corpus which he succeeded in getting the parliament to enact. After referring to numerous abuses by which men's liberties were infringed and they were unlawfully imprisoned, Lord Campbell, in his life of Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, says: "Shaftesbury had several times attempted in vain to remedy such abuses; and he now, with admirable skill, framed a statute, by which personal liberty has been more effectually guarded in England than it has ever been in any other country in the world. This he caused to be introduced in the House of Commons, where it was generally supported. But a strong opposition to it was concerted in the House of Lords. Although avowedly the measure of the Lord President all the weight of the Court was exerted against it, and several amendments were introduced in the committee with a view of defeating it, under the belief that the Commons would not agree to them. The third reading is said to have been carried by an accident. According to Bishop Burnet, Lords Grey and Norris were named to be tellers. Lord Norris being a man subject to vapours, was

not at all times attentive to what he was doing. So a very fat lord coming in Lord Grey counted him for ten, as a jest, at first; but seeing Lord Norris had not observed it, he went on with his misreckoning of ten, so it was reported to the House, and declared that they who were for the bill were the majority, though it indeed went on the other side'."[296] In a note on this passage Lord Campbell adds: "In the Oxford Edition of Burnett's History, there is the following note by Speaker Onslow: 'See minute-book of the House of Lords with regard to this bill, and compare there the numbers of Lords that day in the House, with the number reported to be in the division, which agrees with the story.' There must certainly have been some mistake, accidental or wilful, for the numbers were declared to be 57 to 55; and by the minute-book of the Lords it appears that there were only 107 peers in the House. We must suppose that before the Lord Chancellor was aware of the mistake he had put the additional motion, 'that this bill do pass,' and that it had been agreed to as a matter of course after the division."[297]

On June 26, 1679 Shaftesbury, with fourteen others, presented to the grand jury at Westminster an indictment against James Duke of York as a Popish recusant. Then, on July 2, 1681 Shaftesbury was again committed to the Tower; in October 1681 he offered if released to retire to Carolina; on November 24 an indictment against him for high treason was ignored by the grand jury; on December 1, 1681, he was released on bail; in November 1682 he fled to Holland. Although in 1673 he had proposed to parliament a war against Holland, the Dutch received him kindly when he took refuge in their country and made him a citizen of Amsterdam. In Holland on January 21 or 23, 1683 he died of gout in the stomach. He was a man of small body and large intellect, much versatility and boundless energy. His body was sent to England and buried at Wimborne Saint Giles.[298]

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[296]4 Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors, 1868, 203-204.
[297]Ibid., and note X. Sec. 2 Burnett's History of His Own Times, 1809, 121-122.
[298]4 Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors, 1868, 154-235; 4 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 1036-1055; 24 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th Edition, 760-763; Cooke's Life of Shaftesbury, 1836; W. D. Christie's Life of the First Earl of Shaftesbury, 1871; 1 Burnet's History of His Own Time, 1809, 132-133.

One of the original Lords Proprietors of Carolina, as well as one of the promoters of the Hudson Bay Company[299] the Earl of Shaftesbury took great interest in North America. As a judge, by the admission of his enemies, he was honest. "Shaftesbury never took bribes. Luckily he had only one political case before him; and he would not listen to private solicitations in favour of litigants. But, except being free from gross corruption, he was the worst judge that ever sat in the Court. This was inevitable, for he might as well have tried to sustain a principal part in an opera without having learned the first rudiments of music." He was not a lawyer.[300] "During his long political career, in an age of general corruption, he was ever incorrupt, and never grasped either money or land." This seems to be true in spite of the statement that: "My Lord Chancellor," Clarendon, "he minds getting of money and nothing else; and my Lord Ashly will rob the Devil and the Alter, but he will get money if it be to be got."[301]

All concede Shaftesbury's unusual ability and vigor; although his character was far from being consistent. It fell to his lot to be satirized by Dryden, assailed by Otway and Butler, and traduced by Macaulay."[302]

"'Mong these was a politician
"With more heads than a beast in vision."[303]

Of this couplet Henry G. Bohn says: "Alluding to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury x x x from an absurd defamation that he had the vanity to expect to be chosen King of Poland, he was by many called Tapsky, and by others on account of his general conduct he was nicknamed *Shiftsbury*. But whatever the shaft levelled at him by the wits of the time, it must never be forgotten that he carried the *Habeas Corpus* act through Parliament."[304] Horace Walpole says of him that he "canted tyrrany under Cromwell, practised it under Charles II., and disgraced the cause of liberty, by being the busiest instrument for it

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[299]2 Butler's Hudibras, Bohn's Edition, 1859, 342, note.
[299]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exporation of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 69.
[300]4 Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors, 1868, 154, 176.
[301]Pepys's Diary, June 14, 1666; September 9, 1665; May 20, 1666; May 30, 1666; September 23, 1667.
[302]Essay on Sir William Temple; 1 History of England, Ch. 1, on Otway's Venice Preserved Shaftesbury is presented by the character of Antonio, 4 Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors, 1868, 234-235.
[303]Butler's Hudibras, Part 3, canto 11. lines 351-352.

when every other party had rejected him."[305] "He perhaps had the preeminence of talent over his contemporaries—he certainly had that of wickedness—though they were most of them no mean proficients in crime."[306] Although Shaftesbury is satirized by John Dryden in what is probably the greatest satirical poem in any language, "Absalom and Achitophel," and the denunciation is sweeping, yet even there Dryden says of him:

"Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge;
The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge.
In Israel's court ne'er sat an Abbeth din,
With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean,
Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress,
Swift of dispatch, and easy of access."

These lines were not in the first edition of the poem but in the second were added by Dryden when in the interval between these editions Shaftesbury had shown some favor to one of Dryden sons. Charles II., told Dryden that these added lines spoiled all that the poem had said about Shaftesbury.[307] John Locke says of his patron "that he never knew any one pentrate so quick into men's breasts and, from a small opening, survey that dark cabinet," and gives an anecdote illustrating Shaftesbury's penetration. The latter and Sir Richard Onslow were, by invitation, dining with Sir J. D. at Chelsea and were told by Sir J. D. that that gentleman who had a grown son and daughter and had lost his wife years before, wished their friendly advice in regard to a marriage which he had in mind with his housekeeper. Sir Richard Onslow began to advise strongly against such a marriage and was about to express his opinion of the woman when Shaftesbury interrupted him and asked Sir J. D. if the marriage had not already taken place. Sir J. D. hesitated and then admitted that he had married the housekeeper the day before. When afterwards Sir Richard Onslow thanked the Earl for saving him from committing a great blunder and inquired what had led the Earl to ask

[305]Ibid.
[306]G. A. Willis's Historical Inquiries Respecting the Character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, 1827. 10.
[307]1 Cooke's Life of Shaftesbury, 1836, 20.

Sir J. D. such a question, Shaftesbury answered: "The man and the manner gave me a suspicion that, having done a foolish thing, he was desirous to cover himself with the authority of our advice."[308]

"People," said the Earl of Shaftesbury, "differ in their discourse and profession about these matters, but men of sense are really but of one religion." A lady asked him what religion that was. "Madam," he answered, "men of sense never tell it."[309]

Dryden's own want of consistency might have protected others from his attacks on that ground; and, as for Macaulay, it is a pretty safe general rule to condemn what he approves and approve what he condemns, a rhetorician of consummate skill but a historian of little credit. Neither of them ever rendered to the English-speaking world any service comparable to that which makes it Shaftesbury's debtor for the Act of Hebeas Corpus. Whatever may have been the weakness of Shaftesbury's character, it is to the honor of the Carolinas that through him they are connected in historic records with that great protection of human liberty. In those records is forever and inseparably linked with the two Carolina States and some others the name of "our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor Anthony Lord Ashley," later Earl of Shaftesbury.

Of "our right trusty and well beloved Sir John Colleton, Knight and Baronet," not much is known. The family had been for centuries residents of Devon from which came so many of the distinguished men of the early sixteenth century. John Colleton was born in 1608 and had, in following a military career, reached the rank of captain of foot by the beginning of the English civil war of that period. As active in the royal cause he received from Sir John Berkeley, afterwards Lord Berkeley of Stratton, a commission as colonel to raise a regiment. The commission was signed by the Prince of Wales, subsequently Charles II. Colleton raised the regiment within ten days. He expended for the King forty thousand pounds. Still a larger amount of his property was sequestered or confiscated by the parliament's authority; and he was driven to take refuge in the

[308]Ibid., 146-147 note.
[309]Walsh's Handy-book of Literary Curiosities, 997-998.

West Indian island of Barbadoes. This island, the most eastern of the Caribbean group, was probably discovered by the Portuguese in their voyage from Brazil as early as 1536 when it was without inhabitants. They did not settle there but put swine on the island for the use of future navigators. In different maps of the sixteenth century it is variously named Saint Bernardo, Bernardos, Barbudoso, Barnodos, and Barnodo. Opinions differ as to the meaning of its name, supposed to have been conferred by the Portuguese. It is said that the word is Spanish for the hanging branches of a vine which takes root in the earth. The name seems to be a corruption of those given to the island by the Portuguese. In 1605 this island was visited by an English vessel, the "Olive Blossom," whose crew landed, erected a cross, cut into the bark of a tree the words "James, King of England and of this island," and departed. Lord Leigh, afterwards Earl of Marlborough obtained an English grant for the island. A ship belonging to Sir William Courteen, a rich merchant of London, stopped there in 1624 and carried back a description of the country. Sir William sent out two ships to form a settlement there under the grant to Marlborough. One of them arrived in 1625 and thirty colonists became in February the island's first settlers. Ever since it has been a British possession, and is said to be one of the most densely inhabited places on the earth. During the civil war in England this island became a place of retreat for the refugees of different factions who, in turn, were persecuted by successful antagonists. It is a remarkable thing in the history of Barbadoes that in 1800 its governor, Francis Humbertson MacKensie, Baron Seaforth, was a deaf and dumb man.[810] This man was also a Fellow of the Royal Society, a member of parliament, and a lieutenant-general.[811]

At the Restoration, Colonel Colleton returned to England. There, at the instance of Sir John Berkeley (John Lord Berkeley of Stratton) he was made a baronet by Charles II., on February 18, 1661. In 1663 he was one of the original Lords Proprietors of Carolina.[812] In the management of this

[810] Sir Bernard Burke's Vicissitudes of Families, 1883, 179; 10 Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 204-206.
[811] Ibid.
[812] Burke's Peerage, "Colleton."

Carolina country he was very active; and on September 8, 1663 the Lords Proprietors executed their first deed and entered on their minutes the following account of that transaction:

> "8th Septr 1663.
> "Present
> "My Lord Duke (of Albemarle)
> "My Lord Craven
> "Sir George Carterett
> "Sir Jno Colleton

"Granted by deed to Sir Jno Colleton & his heires forever the 8th of Septr 1663 the island heretofore called Carlyle Island now Colleton Island lyeing neare the mouth of Chowane now Albemarle River contayneing in length 5 or 6 myles in bredth about 2 or 3 myles he yeilding & paying yearely from the feast of All Saints for ever for all such landes as is in those parts esteemed plantable land one halfe penny per acre if all others that shall plant in Carolina pay as much."[313] Probably "Carlyle Island" was so called for the "Captaine Carlile" who in 1583 intended to make a voyage to "the hithermost parts of America."[314] He married a daughter of Secretary of State Walsingham and was consequently a brother-in-law of Sir Philip Sidney, who married Walsingham's daughter Frances.[315] This name, however, may have been due to the following. "On the twenty-second of June," 1627, "Charles I., granted to the Earl of Carlisle the Island of Barbadoes, and all the Caribbee Islands; the whole was erected into a province, which in honor of the patentee, was called *Carliola*."[316] On the date of said deed to Sir John Colleton the Lords Proprietors wrote to Sir William Berkeley and inclosed in their letter a copy of the deed, telling him, in addition to other things: "Wee have granted to Sir John Colleton the Island called by some Carlyle Island lyeing neare Roanoake and Chowan Rivers: he will leave it with you to take a parte with him if you please, soe that you

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[313]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 55.
[314]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 36-49; 1 Alexander Brown's Genesis of the United States, 1890, 845.
[316]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 35; 18 Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1909, 225; J. A. Doyle's English in America, Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas, 1882, 72-73.
[316]1 F. X. Martin's History of North Carolina, 1829, 93.

may order possession to be given of the same to his assigns, inclosed is a copy of his grante."[317] It was upon the recommendation of Sir John Colleton that, on January 11, 1665, "the Lords Proprietors of Carolina" commissioned Sir John Yeamans, of Barbadoes, to be the governor of their newly established "County of Clarendon neare Cape Faire and all that tract of ground as farr as to the southward of the river St. Mathias and west as far as the South Seas."[318] Sir John Colleton first directed the attention of the Lords Proprietors to the claims advanced in behalf of the Duke of Norfolk under the grant of Charles I., to Sir Robert Heath. This was in a letter of June 10, 1663 to the Duke of Albemarle, in which he pointed out the embarrassment to their enterprise which must follow from that claim and suggested the removal of the difficulty.[319] It was plainly through his influence that the offer of certain gentlemen from Barbadoes to form a settlement on the Cape Fear was made to the Lords Proprietors, for his son Peter Colleton was one of the two men by whom that proposal was communicated.[320] Sir John Colleton did not live a great while after the issue of the first grant in which he was so interested; and survived little more than two years after the second grant made June 30, 1665. John Vassall, the first Surveyor General of their County Clarendon,[321] wrote to him from "Nancymond in Virginny 6th October, 1667" a letter addressed "To The Honorable Sir John Coliton Knight and Baronett at Nerehald. These present in Essex,"[322] but in this proceedings of the Lords Proprietors dated "This day of October 1667" the name of Sir John Colleton no longer appears among the Lords Proprietors but is replaced by that of "Sir P. Colleton Bart,"[323] and "Sir P. Colleton" was the son and heir of Sir John Colleton.

Sir John Colleton died about October 1, 1667. In Burke's Peerage, "Colleton," it is stated that he died in 1666; but John Vassall wrote to him on October 6, 1667 from Virginia, giving an account of the recent abandonment of the colony

[317] Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 52, 54.
[318] Ibid., 93-98.
[319] Ibid., 34-35.
[320] Ibid., 39-42.
[321] Ibid., 78.
[322] Ibid., 159-160.
[323] Ibid., 162-163.

of Charles Town on the Cape Fear, and it is highly improbable that he would not have heard from his cousin Henry Vassal, the London agent of that colony, of the death of Sir John Colleton if that had occurred nearly a year before, or that in such case the people of Virginia, where he was and where Sir William Berkley, one of the Lords Proprietors, was governor, would not have learned of that death for more than nine months, or that news of such important character would not have arrived within such a period from Barbadoes, where Sir John Colleton had resided and many of his relations and friends were then living who would have been informed promptly of his demise. Sir John Colleton left a daughter and four sons, Peter, Thomas, John, and James. His wife was Katherine, daughter of William Amy, Esq., of Exon.[324] His son James Colleton became governor of the province of South Carolina under the title of Landgrave in 1687.[325]

Sir Peter Colleton, oldest son of Sir John Colleton, was born in 1635, was one of the Lords Proprietors from the death of his father in October 1667 until his own death about December 1691,[326] and was a member of parliament He was succeeded by his only son Sir John Colleton who was born in 1669 and was a Lord Proprietor in 1692. To him and the other Lords Proprietors John Lawson in 1714 dedicated the latter's History of Carolina,[327] was succeeded by his grandson John Colleton, son of his son John Colleton who was born in 1701.[328] The second Sir John Colleton, grandson of the original grantee so named was the "Sir John Colleton of Exmouth in the county of Devon" who joined with six other Lords Proprietors in transferring their interests to the King in 1729,[329] and was the Sir John Colleton who wished to make DeGraffenried governor of Carolina when visited at his country house, six miles from London, by the latter in 1710.[330]

Sir George Carteret was the other original Lord Proprietor. This name is variously spelled Carteret, Carterett,

[324]Burke's Peerage, "Colleton."
[325]Oldmixon, 2 Carroll's Historical Collection of South Carolina, 1836, 411-412.
[326]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 384-389.
[327]Lawson's History of Carolina, 1860 reprint, original dedication.
[328]Ibid.
[329]3 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 35.
[330]Ibid., 967.

Cartwright, Cartwrite, Charteray, Carteres, Cartred, Katereck, Caterek, Kerteret, Quarteret, and some other ways. Sir George Carteret was the son of Helier Carteret, and was born in the Island of Jersey in 1599, his father being deputy-governor there. George entered the sea-service. Later he and Henry Jermyn were made by Charles I., governors of Jersey. When the civil war broke out in England George Carteret was active for the King and was knighted and made a baronet in 1645. In Jersey he sheltered many royalist refugees from England and entertained the Prince of Wales and several followers. When Charles II., was beheaded Carteret proclaimed Charles II. king. From the island he sent out privateers to prey upon the commerce of the revolutionists until in October, 1651, Admiral Blake went with 80 ships and forced a capitulation, made under the advice of Charles II. On the Restoration Sir George Carteret was made Vice-Chamberlain of the King's house-hold, member of the privy council, and Treasurer of the navy. On June 23, 1664, he became joint proprietor, with Lord Berkeley of Stratton, of New Jersey under a grant from James Duke of York. On January 14, 1679 he died.[331] Sir George Carteret was a member of parliament in 1661, deputy-treasurer of Ireland in 1667, one of the commissioners of the admiralty, and a member of the board of trade and plantations.[332] He married his cousin Elizabeth Carteret, daughter of Sir Philip Carteret, Knight, of Saint Ouen, and had five daughters and three sons.[333] Speaking of Sir George Carteret, Pepys says: "he told me that he was not for the fanfaroone to make a show with a great title, as he might have had long since, but the main thing to get an estate.[334] Sir Philip Carteret, oldest son of Sir George Carteret, distinguished himself in the civil war and was knighted by Charles II. After the Restoration Sir Philip was, under the Earl of Sandwich, in a naval battle with the Dutch for five hours and was killed with his commander in the burning of the ship on which he was, May 28, 1672. Sir Philip's oldest son, George Carteret, on October 19, 1681 was made Lord Carteret be-

[3313] Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 1117-1119; 5 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th Edition, 413-414.
[3325] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th Edition, 413.
[3331] Pepys's Diary, M. Bright's Edition, 1886, 198 note 2.
[334] Ibid., August 1, 1665.

cause that honor had been intended for the original Lord Proprietor Sir George Carteret who died before receiving it; and it was thus bestowed upon his grandson. This Lord George Carteret was the father of the famous John Carteret, Earl of Granville. Sir George Carteret, original Lord Proprietor, kept so carelessly his accounts as Treasurer of the navy that he was suspected of corruption and censured by parliament. [335] He was a kind father.[336]

Sir Philip Carteret, father of Helier Carteret and grandfather of the Lord Proprietor Sir George Carteret, in the reign of Elizabeth, planted a colony in the island of Jersey, in which his ancestors from the time of Edward I., had held lands, to secure that island from the French who had frequently sought to obtain possession of it. The son of the deputy-governor, later a Lord Proprietor, "entered the navy at an early age, greatly distinguished himself in the service; and attracting the attention of the Duke of Buckingham, received the appointment from Charles I., of Joint-governor of Jersey, and comptroller of the navy. Having served the King during the civil wars, at the Restoration he was returned to Parliament for Portsmouth, and filled the office of Treasurer of the navy. He died January 13, 1674."[337] This date of death is incorrect.

Frequently it is stated in historical works of respectable authority that the name of Carolina was bestowed upon this region and is borne by those parts of it which are now North Carolina and South Carolina, in honor of the French King Charles IX.[338] The inaccuracy of this account of the origin of this name is clearly shown by the fact that the name was given to that region in this first charter to the Lords Proprietors, granted by King Charles II., of Great Britain, as it had theretofore been in the charter granted to Sir Robert Heath by his father King Charles I., of Great Britain. It cannot be well supposed that when two British monarchs granted charters to their own subjects for lands which they claimed as their own and gave to the territories granted by

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[335]5 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th Edition, 413; Pepys's Diary, September 12, 1663; March 2, 1664.
[336]Pepys's Diary, March 29, 1664.
[337]1 Evelyn's Diary, Bohn's Edition, 1862, 261-262, 358, 392, 397.
[338]The British Empire in America, 1741, 458, Oldmixon; 2 Carroll's Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 394-395," Oldmixon's Carolina.

those charters a name derived from that borne by both of them, they conferred that name in honor of a French King. If, indeed, in 1562 a French expedition under command of Jean Ribault landed on what is now the southern coast of South Carolina and built on an island there a fort which in honor of their French King they named Charles Fort, Arx Carolina, as is sometimes urged, it by no means follows that an English King Charles when he gave his own name to a large part of his American dominions including the site of that long abandoned fort, did this in honor of a dead French King and not of himself. It is from the charter of King Charles II., of Great Britain, that North Carolina and South Carolina have Carolina in their names. In "A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina on the Coasts of Florida," published in 1666, not more than four years after the earlier grant to the Lords Proprietors, it is stated that "*Carolina* is a fair and spacious province on the continent of of America, so called in honor of his sacred majesty that now is, *Charles the Second*, whom God preserve."[339] It is true that the names of "Carolina" and "Carolana" were applied to this region as early as March, 1629; but this was about the time of the grant to Sir Robert Heath and seems to have been connected with that grant.[340] In the grant to Sir Robert Heath it is said "that the aforesaid Region or Territory soe granted & described may be more illustrious by us than all the other Regions of that land & may be adorned with more ample Titles—we doe erect & incorporate them into a province & name the same Carolina or the province of Carolina."[341] This treats the name as then first given and as rendering the territory by that King "more illustrious" than other regions of that land. This would not be said of land having long had that name nor in regard to honor conferred by the name of a deceased foreign potentate rather than in regard to the peculiar honor of giving to the granted land the granting King's own name. When Charles II., made his grant he ignored the Heath grant and

[339] 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 155; Ogilby's America, 1671, 211; 2 Hawk's History of North Carolina, 1859, 37; 2 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 10; Sparks's John Ribault, 1845, 28-29, note; Rivers's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 62 note.

[340] 1 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1857, 199-202.

[341] 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 7.

said "we do, for us, our heirs and successors, erect, incorporate and ordain the same into a province, and call it the Province of Carolina, and so *from henceforth* will have it called,"[842] language which implies that he gave the name and not that he adopted a name long theretofore, nor "from henceforth" alone, applied.

The territory granted in this first charter to the Lords Proprietors would have been entirely south of what is now Virginia by about thirty-four miles and its northern boundary would have run south of the present North Carolina towns of Windsor, Durham, Hillsboro, Greensboro and Winston-Salem. Its southern border would have lain far north of land subsequently owned by the same grantees.

On June 30, 1665, King Charles II., made a further grant to the same Lords Proprietors adding land adjoining on the north and land adjoining on the south that previously had been granted to them. In this second charter he recited the former one and gave new boundaries of the land granted namely: "All that province, territory or tract of land, situate, lying and being within our dominions of America aforesaid; extending north and eastward, as far as the north end of Currituck River or inlet, upon a straight westerly line to Wyonoak Creek, which lies within or about the degrees of thirty-six and thirty minutes, northern latitude; and so west, in a direct line, as far as the South Seas; and south and westward, as far as the degrees of twenty-nine, inclusive of northern latitude; and so west, in a direct line, as far as the south seas; together with all and singular the parts, harbours, bays, rivers and inlets, belonging unto the province or territory aforesaid; and also all the soils, lands, fields, woods, mountains, farms, lakes, rivers, bays and islets, situate or being within the bounds or limits last before mentioned; with all the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeons, and all other royal fish in the sea, bays, islets and rivers, within the premises, and the fish therein taken, together with all the royalty of the sea upon the coast within the limits aforesaid; and moreover all veins, mines and quarries, as well discovered as not discovered, of gold,

[842] Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 439.

silver, gems and precious stones, metal, or any other thing found or to be found, within the province, territory, islets and limits aforesaid;" additions so made being annexed to the "Province of Carolina."[343] This charter is on terms generally in substantial conformity with the former one. It omits the saving contained in the former in favor of English subjects "which are now planted within the limits and bounds aforesaid (if any be)"; while it includes the same power to the grantees to confer titles and honors. The territories thus granted by this charter, ambracing all granted in the former and more, were bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean on the west by the Pacific Ocean and embraced the present States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and Arkansas, and parts of Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Missouri, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and California.[344] It seems to have escaped observation that four times as much country was by this second charter added to that granted by the former charter on the southern side as on the northern side. For a comparison of these two charters to the Lords Proprietors see.[345] There seems to have been no exercise by the grantees of the power to grant honors and titles, except in the matter of governmental officials and except under the Fundamental Constitutions.

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[343]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 102-114; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 1-12.
[344]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 102-114; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 1-12.
[345]2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1857, 107-109.

CHAPTER XI.

BRITISH CLAIM, CONTINUED

From sixty-four to sixty-six years these Lords Proprietors and their successors in title continued to govern, subject to the limitations of their charters, this vast territory and to own it, except as from time to time, they sold on certain terms parts of it into private ownership. Within that time the country on or near the Atlantic border passed from a wilderness in which no white man resided, except a small space at the northeastern corner, to two colonies for the later part of the time known as North and South Carolina, having numerous cities, towns, and country settlements, all undergoing many changes, natural, commercial, and political. It had been the policy of Great Britain to grant American lands to her subjects in order, by their colonizations, to secure those lands from appropriation by other European nations, and thus maintain the British claim thereto asserted chiefly under the discoveries of John and Sebastian Cabot made by authority of King Henry VII. This colonization accomplished, it became the British policy to bring the colonists under the exclusive rule of the regular British authorities and the lands subject to royal grant in the usual manner. In pursuance of the latter plan the Parliament purchased the landed and governmental rights of seven-eights of the proprietary claims and the governmental rights of the other eighth within the boundaries prescribed in the second charter. This it accomplished by process of deeds by which the seven undivided eighth parts aforesaid were vested, after June 1, 1729, with the governmental rights of the other eighth part, in four men in fee simple in trust to convey them to the British King, his heirs and successors upon payment by the King, his heirs and successors to these trustees of seventeen thousand five hundred pounds to be distributed by these trustees to the seven sets of claimants parting with their full titles at the rate of two thousand five hundred pounds to the share or eighth part; and all seven undivided eighths of all arrears of rent and sums of money, debts, duties, accounts, reckonings,

claims and demands due from farmers, tenants and inhabitants of the provinces to the proprietors to be, after said date, vested in said trustees to be conveyed by them to the King, his heirs and successors, on payment by the King, his heirs and successors to said trustees of five thousand pounds to be applied by them as therein directed; the granting proprietors to be exempted from liability for about three hundred pounds theretofore owing by the proprietors to the King. In regard to the eighth undivided part not intended to be conveyed the act directing a deed says: "Saving and reserving always to the said John, Lord Carteret, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, all such estate, right, title, interest, property, claim and demand whatsoever, in, unto or out of, one eighth part or share of the said Provinces or Territories, with all and singular the rights, members and appurtenances thereof and of, in and to one eighth part or share of all arrears of quit rents, and other rents, sum and sums of money, debt, duties, accounts, reckonings, claims and demands whatsoever, now due and oweing to the present Lords Proprietors of the said Province or Territories, and all such other rights, titles, privileges and powers whatsoever, as the said John, Lord Carteret, his heirs, executors or administrators now have or might have had or been entitled unto in case this act, and the conveyance hereinbefore directed to be made to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, or either of them, had not been, or should not be made;" and saving the rights of colonial officers and persons employed in these colonies acquired before January 1, 1727 under the Lords Proprietors in England or the Provinces.[346]

From the original Lords Proprietors the country granted to them had pased, subject to sales to private owners of smaller tracts, by deeds, wills and inheritances to other persons in succession, it is said, as follows: "Devolution of title of the Proprietary Shares in Carolina.

"1. *Earle of Clarendon's Share.*—During the exile of the Earle of Clarendon from 1667 to his death, 9th of December, 1674, this share was represented by Lord Cornbury, son of

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[346] 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 466-479; 3 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 32-47.

the Earl. It was afterwards purchased by Seth Sothell (or Southwell), September, 1681.[347] Sothell died in North Carolina in 1694, as it was supposed without heirs, assigns, or will, and the remaining Proprietors sequestered the share under the provisions of the Fundamental Constitutions, and assigned it to Thomas Amy, 29th of September, 1697. Upon the marriage of his daughter to Nicholas Trott of London, Amy assigned the share to Trott as a marriage portion, 21st of March, 1700. Under proceedings in chancery, the share, with that originally belonging to Sir William Berkeley, which also stood in the name of Sir Thomas Amy, was sold 16th of February, 1724, at £900 for both, to Hugh Watson, who purchased as trustee for Henry and James Bertie, and subsequently this particular share was allotted to Hon. James Bertie,[348] and in whose name it was surrendered to the Crown.[349]

"2. *Duke of Albemarle's Share.*—The Duke of Albemarle died 3rd of December, 1669, and his share descended to his son, the second Duke, who died in 1688 without issue (Burke). The Earl of Bath was admitted as Proprietor in his room 24th of April 1694.[350] The Earl of Bath died 21st of August, 1701, and was succeeded by his son, John Lord Granville.[351] The share subsequently became vested in the Duke of Beaufort in April, 1709,[352] who died 24th of May, 1714, and by his will devised it to James Bertie and Hon. Dodington Greville, trustees for his sons, Henry, the second Duke of Beaufort, and Charles Noel Somerset, in whose name it was surrendered to the Crown.[353]

"3. *Earl of Craven's Share.*—The Earl of Craven died 9th of April, 1697, without issue, and William Lord Craven, his grandnephew, succeeded to his proprietorship.[354] He was succeeded by his son William Lord Craven 8th of November, 1711, in whose name the share was surrendered to the Crown.[355]

"4. *Lord Berkeley's Share.*—Lord Berkeley fell in arrears

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[347]Coll. Hist. Soc. of So. Ca., vol. 1, 105.
[348]Danson v. Trott, Brown Park Cases, Vol. III., 452-457.
[349]Statutes of So. Ca., Vol. I, 62.
[350]Coll. Hist. Soc. of So. Ca., Vol. I, 135.
[351]Ibid., 150.
[352]Ibid., 156.
[353]Statutes of So. Ca., Vol. I, 62.
[354]Coll. Hist. Soc. of So. Ca., Vol. I, 141.
[355]Statutes of So. Ca., Vol. I, 62.

in the joint stock, failing to pay his quoto and his share appears to have been forfeited and disposed of by the Proprietors to Joseph Blake on the 11th of April, 1698.[356] He died in 1700, and was succeeded by his son Joseph Blake, a minor, in whose name the share was surrendered to the Crown.[357]

"5. *Lord Ashley's Share.*—Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, died in exile, 21st of January, 1683, and was succeeded by his son Anthony Ashley, the second Earl, who died 10th of November, 1699, and was succeeded by his son Anthony Ashley, the third Earl (*Burke*). The share became vested in Maurice, brother of the third Earl, who died without issue in 1726,[358] when the same became vested in Archibald Hutcheson, in trust for John Cotton, in whose name it was surrendered to the Crown.[359]

"6. *Sir George Carteret's Share.*—Sir George Carteret died 13th of January, 1679, and was succeeded by his son Sir George, who died in 1695, and was succeeded by his son John Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl of Granville, who refused to join the other Proprietors in the surrender of 1729 and held his share until 1744, when he was released upon the allotment to him in severalty of a part of North Carolina.[360]

"7. *Sir John Colleton's Share.*—Sir John Colleton died in 1666, and was succeeded by his son Sir Peter, who died April, 1694,[361] and he was succeeded by his son Sir John, a minor, in whose name it was surrendered to the Crown.[362]

"8. *Sir William Berkeley's Share.*—Sir William Berkeley died 13th of July, 1677.[363] He devised his share to his widow who afterwards married Philip Ludwell. While Lady Berkeley she sold the share to John Archdale, 20th of May, 1681, who took title in the name of his son Thomas. Disregarding this sale, after her marriage she joined Philip Ludwell, her husband, in another sale of the same in 1682, and conveyed the same to Thomas Amy in trust for the then Duke of Albemarle, the then Lord Carteret, the Earle of Craven, and

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[356]Danson v. Trott, Coll. Hist. Soc. Ca., Vol. I, 148, 211.
[357]Statutes of So. Ca., Vol. I, 62.
[358]Ibid.
[359]Statutes of So. Ca., Vol. I, 62.
[360]Colonial Records of No. Ca., Vol. IV., 655.
[361]Coll. Hist. Soc. of So. Car., Vol. I, 136.
[362]Statutes of So. Ca., Vol. I, 62.
[363]Cooke's Hist. of Va., Am. Com. Series, 296.

Sir John Colleton. Subsequently, in 1697, the four noblemen, *cestuis que trust*, requested William Thornburg to act as trustee in the place of Amy. Thornburg did so act, but without conveyance of the title by Amy. Subsequently, in 1705, the four *cestuis que trust* sold to and executed a deed to John Archdale of the same, the legal title still remaining in Thomas Amy. Archdale executed a deed for the same to his son-in-law John Danson, 21st of October, 1708. These complications led to litigation, and under proceedings in chancery the share was again sold, together with that formerly of the Earl of Clarendon, then of Sothell, and was purchased as before stated, by Hugh Watson as trustee for Henry and James Bertie, and subsequently this particular share was allotted to Henry Bertie (*Danson v. Trott, above,*) in whose name it was surrendered to the Crown."[364]

Possibly this list is not entirely correct. On this matter of devolution of shares see,[365]

The John Lord Carteret, in whose behalf a saving was made in the act by which a purchase was directed to be made of the shares of the seven undivided eight parts held by the Lords Proprietors other than John Lord Granville and who is mentioned above, was the great grandson of Sir George Carteret, one of the original Lord's Proprietors.[366] That Sir George Carteret had a son Sir Philip Carteret and Sir Philip Carteret had a son Sir George Carteret who was created Lord Carteret on October 19, 1681 because that honor had been intended for his said grandfather who died before receiving it. This second Sir George Cartret was married when but eight years old to the daughter of John Granville, Earl of Bath. Sir George Carteret who was thus married at so early an age and who was so created Lord Carteret, was succeeded by his oldest son John who thus became John Lord Carteret. He was born April 22, 1690 and attended Christ Church, Oxford. He was the son of George first Lord Carteret and Grace Granville youngest daughter of Sir John Granville, first Earl of Bath, son of Sir Bevil Granville or Grenville and Sir Bernard Grenville was the son of Sir

[364]Statutes of So. Ca., Vol. I, 62. McCrady's South Carolia under the Proprietary Government, 1899, 714-716.
[365]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 51-52.
[366]4 Collins's Peerage, 1768, 381, 397-400.

Richard Grenville who commanded the expedition which brought Sir Walter Raleigh's first colony to North Carolina. Thus this John Lord Carteret was the great great great grandson of the man who brought the first English colony to North Carolina and was thus a kinsman of Sir Walter Raleigh who sent that first colony,[367] beside being the great grandson of one of the original Lords Proprietors of Carolina. He so distinguished himself at Oxford that Dean Swift said "he carried away from Oxford, with a singularity scarcely to be justified, more Greek, Latin, and philosophy, than properly became a person of his rank; indeed much more of each than most of those who were forced to live by their learning would be at the unnecessary pains to burthen their minds with." On the accession of George I. he became one of the Lords of King's bed chamber, and on July 20, 1715, he was made Bailiff of Jersey. On January 1, 1715 his mother was created Viscountess Carteret and Countess Granville. Lord John Carteret was sent on January 25, 1719 as Ambasador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the queen of Sweden. Becoming Secretary of State on May 4, 1721, he resigned the place on April 3, 1724, and was made, on the same day, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His administration in Ireland brought him much credit. It was here that a friendship sprung up between him and Dean Swift. Of Lord Carteret it was said that he was the only member of the cabinet of George I. who could converse with the King, since George knew no English.

George II. became King on June 11, 1729 and on July 29 made Lord Carteret again Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. On February 12, 1742 Lord Carteret became one of the principal Secretaries of State and a member of the council. He had returned to England in 1731 and gone into opposition and, after a struggle of ten years, had been chiefly instrumental in driving Sir Robert Walpole from power and office. In 1744, by the death of his mother, he succeeded as Earl of Granville. Now he had grown to be very unpopular, envied for his extraordinary abilities and learning and hated for his arrogant demeanor. In 1746, he was again

[367] Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 565-567, 558, 563-565; 3 Ibid., 1119-1124; 12 Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 11th Edition, 362-363.

made Secretary of State; but was compelled to resign almost immediately. On that occasion there appeared a humorously ironical book called "A History of the Long Administration," which concludes as follows: "And thus endeth the second and last part of this astonishing administration, which lasted forty-eight hours, three quarters, seven minutes, and eleven seconds; which may truly be called the most honest of all administrations; the minister, to the astonishment of all wise men, never transacted one rash thing; and, what is more marvellous, left as much money in the tr—y as he found in it."

In 1749 the Earl of Granville received the ribbon of the Order of the Garter; and in 1750 he became president of the council; in 1756 he declined the office of Secretary of State. On January 2, 1763 he died. He was an elegant and profound scholar and a munificent patron of learning, not sincere in his friendship nor implacable in his resentment; profuse in promises and sparing in performance; addicted to inebriation; self-confident to absurdity; frank and conciliating in manner; entertaining in conversation, given to vast, rash, and immature projects; fearless and dashing; eloquent, sometimes to bombast; and extreme in views. In 1761 William Pitt proposed to the council immediate war with Spain and threatened to resign if his advice was rejected. Lord Granville replied: "I find that the gentleman is determined to leave us; nor can I say that I am sorry for it, for, otherwise, he would have compelled us to leave him. If he be resolved to assume the right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of the war, for what purpose are we called in council? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the house of commons, and forgets that at this board, he is only responsible to the King. However, though he may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility, it remains that we also should be equally convinced, before we resign our understanding to his direction, or join with him in the measure he proposes." He opposed popular education and the promulgation of Christianity in the colonies. "I wish to God," as he was accustomed to say, that the Pope may never turn Protestant, or the Italians cease to be papists as then

we should sell them no fish." Old Lady Granville, his mother, once reproached him for having kept a country parson (Bentley) the night before until he was intoxicated. Her son denied this, but the old lady said: "The clergyman could not have sung in so ridiculous manner, unless he had been in liquor." What the lady referred to as singing was said to be Bentley's attempt to entertain his noble friend by reciting Terence in the so-called cantilena of the ancients. May be so. Lord Chief Justice Willes when once congratulated on the return to power of his friend Lord Granville, answered: "He my friend! He is nobody's friend. When he was in power I asked a place for an acquaintance. He replied: 'What is it to me who is a judge or who is a bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe'." On a certain occasion when Granville was in office he was asked who had written the king's speech and answered, "Do you not see the blunt pen of the old Attorney?" Meaning Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.[368]

"Lord Granville, they say, is dying. When he dies the ablest head in England died too, take him for all in all," wrote Lord Chesterfield to his son on December 13, 1762. "I feel a pride," exclaimed Lord Chatham, "in declaring that to his patronage, to his friendship and instruction I owe whatever I am."

The Earl of Granville was the most brilliant debater, the greatest diplomatist, the ablest statesman, and one of the most learned men of his time. He was an authority on all questions of classical learning. To him Sale dedicated his translation of the Koran. "The right Honorable John Lord Carteret" was one of the Lords Proprietors to whom John Lawson in 1714, dedicated Lawson's celebrated History of Carolina.[369] Horace Walpole is said to have pronounced him a greater genius than Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Mansfield, or Lord Chatham, and to have avowed that he was one of the five greatest men whom he had ever known.

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[368]4 Collins's Peerage, 1768, 360-411: Georgian Era, 289-293.
[369]Lawson's History of Carolina, 1860 reprint, original dedication.

"Written immediately after his death in 1763.

"Commanding beauty, smooth'd by cheerful grace,
Sat on each open feature of his face.
Bold was his language, rapid, glowing, strong;
And science flowed spontaneous from his tongue.
A genius, seizing systems, slighting rules;
And void of gall, with boundless scorn of fools.
Ambition dealt her flambeau to his hand,
And Bacchus sprinkled fuel on the brand.
His wish to counsel monarchs, or controul,
His means—the impetuous ardour of his soul;
For while his views out-strip'd a mortal's span,
Nor prudence drew, nor craft pursued the plan,
Swift fell the scaffold of his airy pride,
But, slightly built, diffus'd no ruin wide.
Unhurt, undaunted, undisturb'd he fell;
Could laugh the same, and the same stories tell;
And more a sage than he, who bade await
His revels, still his conquests were complete,
Our jovial Statesman either sail unfurl'd,
And drank his bottle, tho' he miss'd the world."[870]

In his last hours he listened to the reading of the preliminaries of the treaty of Paris, saying when urged to postpone the business that it "could not prolong his life to neglect his duty."[871] His son Robert, who inherited his title, died without issue in 1776, and thereupon the earldom became extinct.[872] On the life of John Earl of Granville see 3 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 1119-1124; 12 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 363. "His Character may be summed up in nice precision, quick decision, and unbounded presumption."[873] He was married twice; on October 17, 1710 to Frances, only daughter of Sir Robert Worsley, Baronet, and, after her death on June 20, 1743, he was married on April 14, 1744 to Sophia Fennor daughter of Thomas Fennor, Earl of Pomfret or Pontefract. This second wife was a great-granddaughter of George Jeffreys, Baron Jeffreys of Wem, infamous as the

[870]Horatio Walpole's Works, 1798, Vol. 1, page 31.
[871]12 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 363.
[872]Ibid.
[873]3 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 1123.

Judge Jeffreys of the "Bloody Assize" and of the times of Charles II. and James II."[1]

Such was John Earl of Granville, at one time owner of the larger and better part of North Carolina and earlier of one undivided interest in all North Carolina territory. He was for a time the exclusive owner of the entire northern part of the original County of Buncombe and of most of what is not embraced in that county, including its county town of Asheville. In the early days of her colonial existence it was the lot of North Carolina to be associated most intimately with Sir Walter Raleigh, the broadest visioned and most brilliant statesman of the days of Elizabeth and James I., and near the close of her career as a British Colony to have her name linked to that of his kinsman, the Earl of Granville, the broadest-visioned and most brilliant statesman of the days of the early Georges. In the name of her capital city she has remembered her obligation to the former and in the name of one of her counties she has preserved the memory of her relations to the latter, whose family name she has conferred on another of her counties. In both instances she has honored herself in perpetual reminders of her connections with two of the world's very great men to whom she owes much and whose association brought distinction to the preparatory stages of her statehood.

Under the act of parliament directing the purchase of the seven undivided eighth interests of all the Lords Proprietors except John Lord Carteret and the deeds in that act contemplated, which were afterwards duly executed, all the seven undivided eighths right, governmental and territorial, in said provinces of all the Lords Proprietors thereof other than Lord Carteret were divested and passed in fee simple to the Crown. John Lord Carteret then petitioned the king in council for a partition so that he might have allotted to him in severalty his part of the land "(the government thereof and of the said province of Carolina only excepted)," and of the quit rents; "and thereupon the said John Lord Carteret humbly offered and proposed to surrender to his majesty, his heirs and successors, his share and interest of

[1]5 Collins's Peerage, 1768, 55-56; 3 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 1123; 10 Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 714-721.

and in the government of the said provinces or territories, and to convey, release and confirm to his majesty, his heirs and successors, the other seven parts of the said provinces." This petition, after approval by the commissioners of trade and plantations and by the privy council was granted September 15, 1742 and commissioners, chosen by the governors of the two in part and by Lord Carteret in part, made the partition and allotted to John Lord Carteret in severalty as his part on December 6, 1743, in "North Carolina next adjoining and contiguous to the province of Virginia," bounded on the north by the line that divides North Carolina from Virginia, "to the east, by the great western ocean, commonly so called, and as far southwardly as a cedar stake set upon the sea side, in the latitude of thirty five degrees and thirty four minutes at north latitude, being six miles and a half to the southward of Chickmacomack inlet, from that stake by a westline which passed twenty five feet to the southward of the house wherein Thomas Wallis liveth, and so west as far as the bounds of the charter granted to the lords proprietors of Carolina by his majesty King Charles the second, which west line went one thousand six hundred and sixty poles to the north of the south end of Bath-Town." This was reported, duly approved by the king and deeds were prepared and executed accordingly, the grant to John Lord Carteret conveying to him in fee simple the land so allotted to him "except nevertheless, out of this grant the said powers of making laws, calling or holding of assemblies, erecting courts of justice, appointing judges or justices, pardoning criminals, creating or granting titles of honor, making ports or havens, taking customs or duties on goods laden or unladen, making and erecting counties, forts, castles, and cities, or furnishing them with habiliments of war, incorporating cities, boroughs, towns, villages or any other place or places, raising, employing or directing the militia, making war or executing martial law, exercising any of the royal rights of a county palatine, and of doing, using or exercising any other of the prerogatives, preeminences, rights, jurisdictions and authorities of, belonging, or relating to, the administration of the government of the said one eighth part of the said provinces,—

yielding and paying to his said majesty, his heirs and successors the annual rent of one pound, thirteen shillings and four pence, payable at the feast of All Saints forever: And also one fourth part of all gold, and silver ore, that shall be found within the said one eighth part of the said premises so separated as aforesaid." It also conveyed "all the arrears of quit rent, sum and sums of money, debts, duties, accounts, reckonings, claims and demands whatsoever" due to him and the king from said eighth part of the land so allotted to Lord Carteret. This grant to John Lord Carteret was dated September 17, 1744, and recited its consideration.[375] The treaty of Paris in 1763 making the thread of the Mississippi River the western border of British possessions and the King's proclamation in 1763 forbidding grants west of the crest of the Blue Ridge and Tryon's agreement for the Indian boundary substantially along that crest in 1767, all seems to have been inoperative as to the title of the Granville Lands; but apparently neither Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl of Granville, nor any one claiming through him ever made any conveyance of any land west of that crest for any part of the territory.

John Lord Carteret executed his deed to King George II. September, 1744,[376] whereby and by the other deeds to him George II. was invested with the entire government and North Carolina and South Carolina became in 1744 royal provinces and the ownership of all lands in these two provinces not theretofore sold by the Lords Proprietors became vested in the crown except the land so allotted in severalty to John Lord Carteret, lying entirely in North Carolina. Thus ended in 1744 the proprietory government in the two Carolinas and Lord Carteret, soon to become Earl of Granville, became in regard to them simply a large land owner in North Carolina. The commissioners who made the partition were; on the part of the crown "Robert Halton, Eleazer Allen, Mathew Rowan, and William Forbes, Esqrs. Members of His Majesty's Council, and George Gould, Esqr.

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[375]2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 15-30; 4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 656-663.
[376]11 State Records of North Carolina, 1895, 80-101.

Surveyor General,"[877] and on the part of Lord Carteret, Edward Mosely, Moore, Rice and Abercrombie,[878] Of course, it was necessary to survey and mark at least the eastern part of the southern boundary of the land so allotted and granted in severalty to John Lord Carteret. The most eastern portion of this boundary from the ocean to Bonner's Field was run and marked in 1743, and continued to Haw River, in 1746 in April and to Rocky River in October.[879] It has been stated that this boundary was extended westwardly in 1774 to the Blue Ridge at a point in Rutherford County by Josiah Martin, the last royal governor of North Carolina;[880] but others claim that no such extension was made but only surveys of county boundaries coincident with the Granville line were made there in 1772, (under *"An Act for the Ascertaining of the Boundary Line between the County of* Rowan, *and the Counties* of Mecklenberg *and* Tryon; *and for* appointing commissioners to run the same,") passed at Newbern at a session of the Assembly beginning December 5, 1770, which Act recited that such line "hath not as yet been ascertained, by reason whereof, the Inhabitants within the disputed Bounds of the said Counties refused to give in a List of Taxables, or to pay their Taxes in any of the said Counties," and appoints Thomas Neil, Thomas Polk, Matthew Locke, Griffith Rutherford and Peter Johnson, commissioners to run the dividing line between the "said County of Rowan, and the Counties of *Mecklenberg* and Tryon; beginning at *Cold Water* where John Patterson's Upper line crosses the Creek; thence due West until it intersects the *Cherokee Indian Line.*"[881] This would tend to show that the Granville line had never been run as far west as the northern boundary of Mecklenburg County; but unquestionably there was an impression that it had been since in 1782 a part of Burke County was transferred by the legislature to Lincoln County and one of the lines mentioned then as of the transferred territory was to run

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[877]4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 799-800, 698-700.
[878]2 Williamson's History of North Carolina, 1812, 49.
[879]7 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 156-157.
[880]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 267 and map at end of the volume; 2 Williamson's History of North Carolina, 1812, 50.
[881]Taylor v. Shufford, 11 N. C. (4 Hawks), 116; Iredell's (North Carolina). Revisal 1791, 255.

"to Earl Granville's old line."[332] The Granville line after the first section would constitute the southern boundary of Chatham and prolonged from Haw River would constitute the southern boundaries of Randolph, Davidson, Rowan, and original Burke and the northern boundaries of Moore, Montgomery, Stanly, Cabarrus and Mecklenburg Counties, and pass through parts of Lincoln, Cleveland, and Rutherford Counties. If extended still further west it would pass through the southern portion of the original McDowell County and through Buncombe County near Buena Vista, through the middle of Haywood County and the northern part of Swain County into the State of Tennessee.

Soon after obtaining title in severalty to his lands in North Carolina, the Earl of Granville established a land office at Edenton, North Carolina, and sold lands through his agents there. Then came in 1775 and 1776 the American Revolution and stopped all sales of the Granville Lands, already lagging.[333] During that war North Carolina passed several acts confiscating property therein of British subjects. Claimants to the Granville Lands were British subjects, having acquired their claims under John Earl of Granville who died January 2, 1763 and under his son and heir Robert Earl of Granville, who died in 1776, by purchase.[334] In none of these acts of confiscation were the Granville Lands mentioned in express terms.[335] Still the State of North Carolina assumed ownership and control of these lands in various statutes.[336] After the close of the Revolutionary War two ejectment suits for the assertion of title to these lands by claimnants of British citizenship were brought in the United States District Court at Raleigh, North Carolina, by "George William, Earl of Coventry, successor by devise to the Earl of Granville, against Nathaniel Allen and Josiah Collins and against William R. Davie, in

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[332]Iredell's (North Carolina) Revisal, 1791; Martin's Revisal, 1804, 318; 1 Revisal of 1821, 434; 24 State Records of North Carolina, 1905, 472.

[333]4 Collins's Peerage, 1768, 410; 9 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 358, 276, 359, 261, 49, 513-514, 578-580, 262; 7 Ibid., 1890, 513.

[334]3 Stephen and Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, 1123.

[335]Iredell's (North Carolina) Revisal, 1791, 341, 405, 406; 1 N. C. Revisal of 1821, 368-372, 384-392, 418-425; 19 State Records of North Carolina, 1900, 230-231; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 33-34.

[336]1 Revisal of North Carolina, 1821, 274-281, 372-374; Taylor v. Shufford, 11 N. C. (4 Hawks), 132, 126; 4 Blackstone's Commentaries, 249.

1801.[387] On trial before Henry Potter, District Judge, at June Term 1805 of that court judgements were rendered in the cases against the British claimants, plaintiff; and those judgments were carried by writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States where, after pending for years the writs of error were dismissed, February 4, 1817, some writers say for want of bond, others say for want of prosecution, others say for the death of the plaintiff, Earl of Coventry.[388] In 1823 the Supreme Court of the United States mentioned this Granville claim as an instance of forfeiture.[389]

The Supreme Court of North Carolina has repeatedly decided that the Granville Lands were forfeited to the State of North Carolina in the Revolutionary War as claims and property of an alien enemy.[390] These North Carolina cases are most incorrect and not always consistent, however, in the statements of the facts. It is said that the British claimants to these Granville Lands were, later on, indemnified for their loss by about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in value.[392] About half the counties of North Carolina being within the territory so allotted in severalty to John Lord Carteret, these suits produced much consternation in the State. The matter is now one of history only.

After White's Colony under Sir Walter Raleigh of 1587 disappeared English settlers ceased to be found in North Carolina for more than seventy years. In the meanwhile a colony had been planted at Jamestown on James River on May 13, 1607 and had spread until some of its settlements were within fifty miles of North Carolina. About 1646 the Virginians under the government of Sir William Berkeley were having trouble with Indians on their southern border. Against these Indians they sent out an expedition by water under Colonel Dew, who passed through Currituck inlet into Albemarle Sound and up Chowan River

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[387]H. G. Connor in University of Pennsylvania Law Review, October, 1914, pp. 677-692; D. L. Swain's Early Times in Raleigh, 1867, 29.

[388]Report of David L. Swain on the Historical Agency, etc., 1856, 8; 1 Moore's History of North Carolina, 1882, 53, 450, 455, 456; H. G. Connor in University of Pennsylvania Law Review, October, 1914, 693, 689.

[389]Johnson v. Graham, 8 Wheaton's Report, 580-581.

[390]Taylor v. Shufford, 11 N. C. (4 Hawks), 116; Weston v. John L. Roper Lumber Company, 163, N. C. 78. See Faris v. Timpson, Conference Report, 178 Battle's Edition, 1 N. C. 294-306; Marshall v. Lovelass, Conference Report, 217, Battle's Edition, 1 N. C. 325-381.

[392]North Carolina Booklet, July, 1906, 33; Ibid., May, 1904, 37.

Anth.y Ashley Cooper

first Earl of Shaftesbury

ONE OF THE LORDS PROPRIETORS WHO FOUNDED
CHARLESTON, S. C.

to the mouth of Weyanook Creek twenty or twenty-five miles from the mouth of Roanoke River and had a fight there with the Indians. About two years later, when peace was made with the Indians, Henry Plumpton, a member of the expedition, and Thomas Turke, of Isle of Wight County, Virginia, and others bought from the Indians all the land from the mouth of Roanoke River to the mouth of Weyanook Creek; and, about 1661 Robert Lawrence settled on the southwest side of Chowan River three or four miles above the mouth of Roanoke River and lived there about seven years.[393] In 1653, a trader "for beavers" and others, from Lynnhaven near Cape Henry, went into the sound "at Caratoke" and to Roanoke Island where they found an Indian chief hunting with his people and carried him home with them on a visit of a week to Francis Yardley who promised to teach the Chief's son "to speak out of the book, and make a writing" and build for the chief "an English house," in return for certain lands. Says Yardley: "I dispatched away a boat with six hands, one being a carpenter, to build the King an English house, my promise, at his coming first, being to comply in that matter. I sent 1200 sterling in trust, to purchase and pay for what land they should like, the which in a little time they effected and purchased, and paid for three great rivers, and also all such others as they should like of, southerly; and in solemn manner took possession of the country, in the name, and on behalf of the Commonwealth—of England; and actual possession was solemnly given to them by the great Commander, and all the great men of the rest of the provinces, in delivering them a turf of the earth with an arrow shot into it; and so the Indians totally left the lands and rivers to us, retiring to a new habitation, where our people built the great Commander a fair house, the which I am to furnish with English utensils and chattels. In the interim whilst the house was building for the great Emperor of Rhoanoke, he undertook with some of his Indians, to bring some of our men to the Emperor of the Tuskarorawes, and to that purpose sent embassadors before, and with two of our company set forth, and travelled within two days' journey of the place,

[393] Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 676-677.

where at a hunting quarter, the Tuskarorawes emperor, with two hundred and fifty of his men, met our company, and received them courteously; and after some days spent, desired them to go to his Chieftown, where he told them was one Spaniard residing, who had been seven years with them, a man very rich, having about thirty in family, seven whereof are negroes; and he had one more negro, leiger with a nation called the Newxes. He is sometimes, they say, gone from thence a pretty while. Our people had gone, but that the interpreter with over-travelling himself, fell sick, yet the Tuskarorawe proffered him if he would go he would in three days journey bring him to a great salt sea, and to places where they had copper out of the ground, the art of refining which they have perfectly; for our people saw much amongst them, and some plates of a foot square. There was one Indian had two beads of gold in his ears, big as rounceval peas; and they said there much of that not far off. These allurements had drawn them thither, but for the interpreters weakness, and the war, that was between a great nation called the Cacores, a very little people in statue, not exceeding youths of thirteen or fourteen years, but extremely valiant and fierce in fight, and above belief swift in retirement and flight, whereby they resist the puissance of this potent, rich and numerous people. There is another great nation by these called the Haynokes, who valiantly resist the Spaniards further northern attempts. The Tuskarorawe told them the way to the sea was a plain road, much travelled for salt and copper; the salt is made by the sea itself, and some of it brought into me. After the Tuskarorawe could not prevail, but our people would return, he sent his only son with a great man his tutor, and another great man and some other attendants with them, and when they came to the rest of our company, the house being done and finished the Rowanoke with the Tuskarorawe prince and sundry other kings of the province, in all some forty-five in company, together with six men, on May last, arrived at my house. The Rowanoke brought his wife with him and his son to be baptized. It fell out happily, that my brother and many other friends were met at my house. The only present brought us was

the turf of earth with the arrow shot into it, which was again solemnly delivered unto me, and received by me in the name and on behalf of the Commonwealth of England, to whom we really tender the sure possession of this rich and flourishing place; hoping only that our properties and our pains will not be forgotten. There is no man hath been at a penny charge but myself, and it hath already cost me three hundred pounds and upwards; and were my estate able, I should hope to give a better account of my well wishes to a general good. My hopes are I shall not want assistance from good patriots either by their good words or purses. Tuesday the third of May, the Rowanoke presented his child to the minister before the congregation to be baptized, which was solemnly performed in the presence of all the Indians, and the child left with me to be bred up a Christian, which God grant him grace to become! At their departure, we appointed a further discovery by sea and land, to begin the first of July next, God guide us to His glory, and England's and Virginia's honor! Sir if you think good to acquaint the States with what is done by two Virginians born, you will honor our country. I have at this instant no present worthy your acceptance, but an arrow that came from the Indians inhabiting on the South Sea, the which, we purpose, God willing, to see this summer *non obstante periculo*,"[394] Thus it appears that North Carolina except on the border of the mainland was unknown to the nearby eastern Virginia towns as late as 1653 except by report and that it had already became known as 'South Virginia or Carolina,[395] the latter name probably from the Sir Robert Heath grant made a fourth of a century before, and that the Spaniards were then living in North Carolina among the Indians but were by the latter kept from proceeding further north, and that negro slaves were then in North Carolina. Thus English people bought lands from the Indians in North Carolina more than twenty-five years before William Penn landed first in America. Had any one in Virginia supposed in 1653 that Virginia had any right, legal or equitable, to the northern part of North Carolina,

[394] Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 18-20.
[395] Ibid., 17.

Francis Yardley, "Virginia born" and living within fifty miles of Roanoke Island, would have known it and would not have expended three hundred pounds in buying land there from the Indians, taken formal possession of the country "in the name and on behalf of the commonwealth of England"; spoken of it as distinct from Virginia; claimed great credit for discovering and acquiring it for "the Commonwealth of England, to whom we really tender the sure possession of this rich and flourishing place; hoping only that our properties and our pains will not be forgotten;" asked that his correspondent would "acquaint the States with what is done by two Virginians born"; prided himself so greatly on "what the Lord hath in short time brought to light, by means of so weak a minister as myself"; and called the country whose ample discovery he had effected "South Virginia or Carolina.."[306]

Ten years before the first grant to the original Lords Proprietors and fourteen years before a grant to them for the part of North Carolina bordering on Virginia, Virginians recognized that no claim of theirs could attach to the northern portion of North Carolina. This was not the first recognition by Virginians that there was a separate place called Carolina not within the bounds of their colony. In the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Governor and Council of Virginia in 1639 is entered: "The King's letter commanding assistance to Henry Ld. Maltravers in Seating Carolina to whom it was granted."[307] It has been stated that William Hawley was in Virginia as "governor of Carolina," and that "leave was granted by the Virginia legislature, that it might be colonized by one hundred persons" from Virginia, "freemen, being single and disengaged of debt."[308] Strangely, however, on September 25, 1663, Sir William Berkeley, acting as governor of Virginia and by instruction from the King and council of State, issued "at James Citty" seven grants for lands on "Pasquotank River," "Raspitanck River," "Curatick Creek," "the River of Carolina" (Albemarle Sound), and "pyquomons" (Perquimans) River "the River of Ke-

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[306]Ibid., 17-20.
[307]1 Hening's (Virginia) Statutes at Large, 552.
[308]2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 79; 1 Henings (Virginia) Statutes at Large, 552; 2 Baneroft's History of he United States, first edition, 130.

conghtancke which River falls into Carolina;"[399] although this was subsequent to the first grant to the Lords Proprietors in the preceding March and anterior to their second grant, a period in which it might have been concluded that the effect of the first grant had been to place this country in Virginia, an error corrected by the second grant. It is not known exactly when the first English settlement in North Carolina which was permanent began. It is supposed to have been about 1659.[400] Certainly it was on the north side of Albemarle Sound and was by Virginians and not later than 1661 or 1662.[401] The oldest private deed to land in North Carolina or in Carolina appears to have been for land on Durant's Neck between Perquimmons River and Little River in Perquimmons County made on March 1, 1661 by "Kilcocanen or Kistatonen," the King of the Yeopin Indians, to George Durant; but it calls for an adjoining tract conveyed by the same grantor to Samuel Pricklove "fomily" (formerly).[402] When the Lords Proprietors of Carolina obtained their first grant, March 24, 1663, they wrote, on September 8, 1663 to Sir William Berkeley, one of their number, then in Virginia, a letter in which they tell him that since he left England, they had obtained a charter or grant and say "we are informed that there are some people settled on the northeast part of the river Chowan, and that others have inclination to plant there, as also the larboard side, entering on the same river; so that we hold it convenient that a government be forthwtih appointed for that colony; and for that end we have, by Captain Whittey sent you a power to constitute one or two governors and councils, and other officers."[403] Evidently they had heard of this settlement either just before or just after their first grant issued and supposed that this grant included the settlement, although it did not and it was not until their second grant, June 13, 1665, that they obtained title to that place. In a document of 1751 it is stated that this settlement was made "about 1653", at "about which time some few English left Virginia and settled here, with

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[399]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 54-55.
[400]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 59.
[401]2 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 282-283.
[402]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 19; also see 20.
[402]2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 20-21.

consent and by invitation of the natives," this in a letter from James Glen, Governor of South Carolina, to the Lords Commissioners of Trade.[404] The year 1653 seems to be too early, since if it were correct Sir William Berkeley and Francis Yardley would have known of it. The statement is often made that the first permanent settlement of English in Carolina was by Roger Green and it is sometimes added that being a quaker and persecuted because thereof in Virginia he fled to North Carolina and made this settlement there.[405] There is no reason to suppose that Roger Green was ever in Carolina or sent any one thither or had a grant for any land there or intended or desired to have one. He was not persecuted and was not a quaker but an Episcopal preacher. The authority given to him to form a settlement, if so interpreted was in regard to land in Virginia and next to prior settlements.[406] Equally unfounded is the statement that the first permanent English settlers in Carolina were quakers or persecuted or religious refugees.[407]

On April 4, 1749, Gabriel Johnston, Governor of North Carolina, in a letter to the Board of Trade, says: "The Province of North Carolina was first settled by People from Virginia in low circumstances who moved thither for the benefit of a larger and better range for their Stocke."[408]

In the latter part of 1664 William Drummond was made governor of the "County of Albemarle;"[409] but this seems to have been a temporary expedient. However, it was kept up for some while. In October, 1667 Drummond's term of three years expired and his successor Captain Samuel Stephens was appointed.[410] Peter Carteret followed,[411] and others after him.[412] In October 1667 Stephens became governor. But "Later, one Nathaniel Batts was mentioned as having been governor of Roanoke, and may have been appointed to that office by Governor Berkeley under the

[404]2 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1858, 323, 321.
[405]1 Wheeler's Historical Sketches of North Carolina, 1851, 29; 1 Moore's History of North Carolina, 1880, 14; 1 Williamson's History of North Carolina, 1812, 92-93 note.
[406]1 Hening's (Virginia) Statutes at Large, 380-381; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 52, 53, XXI.
[407]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 710, 571-572, XIX. 215, XVIII., 216-218; 2 George Fox's Journal, 1800, 160, 161; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 58-59.
[408]4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 919-920.
[409]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 93.
[410]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 93, 94, 95, 105.
[411]Ibid., 105.
[412]Ibid., 111, 120.

instructions of the Lords Proprietors, Roanoke Island not being within Albemarle County as originally laid off and authority having been given to Berkeley to establish two separate governments, one for each division of territory."[413]

The governors of Albemarle under the Proprietary Government were: "William Drummond appointed October, 1664—October, 1667. Samuel Stephens, appointed October, 1667. Died December, 1669. Peter Carteret, appointed October, 1670. Left Colony May, 1673. John Jenkins, President of Council, appointed May, 1673. Thomas Eastchurch, appointed November, 1676. Never qualified. Thomas Miller, appointed 1677. Deposed by Culpepper. John Culpepper, in power, 1677-78. Seth Sothel, appointed 1678, captured by Algerines. John Harvey appointed February 5, 1679. Died August, 1679. Henry Wilkinson, appointed February 16, 1681. John Jenkins, President of Council, appointed November, 1679. Seth Sothel, arrived 1682. Deposed fall of 1689."[414]

The settlement in North Carolina spread, however, and flourished.[415] About 1661 some people from New England attempted a settlement on the Charles (Cape Fear) River. Of course, they had no right to do this. That did not disturb them.[416] They induced the Indians to permit them to send off Indian children to be educated and christianized but really, it seems, to be enslaved. This "so disgusted the Indians, that tho' they had no guns, yet they never gave over until they had entirely rid themselves of the English by their Bows and Arrows, which they did not only take off themselves, but also their Stocks of cattle."[417]

Negotiations were had between the Lords Proprietors and some men of Barbadoes for the formation of a settlement in Carolina, followed by two tours of inspection which the latter caused to be made by William Hilton.[418] Pending these negotiations, on May 29, 1664, some of these settlers

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[413]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 70-71.
[414]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 52-53.
[415]Lawson's History of North Carolina, 1903 Edition, 35.
[416]2 Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, 279.
[417]Lawson's History of North Carolina, 1903 Edition, 41-42; 2 Warden's United States, 1812, 375-376; 2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 73, 25, 26, 28, 24; 1 Williamson's History of North Carolina 1812 95-96; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina 1886, 36-37.
[418]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 39-59, 67-71, 42, 89, 84, 130-131; Year Book of the City of Charleston, 1884, 227-255; Lawson's History of Carolina, 1903 Edition 36-41; Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 29-36.

from Barbadoes came to North Carolina on Cape Fear River, then call Charles River, about twenty or thirty miles above its mouth near the entrance of a small stream now known as Old Town Creek and started a settlement there which in honor of Charles II., they named Charles Town, and on November 14, 1664 Robert Sanford, or Sandford, was commissioned "Secretary and Chiefe Register for our County of Clarendon," embracing this town, and ten days later John Vassall was commissioned "Surveyor General of our County of Clarendon" who acted as Chief Manager of the settlement.[419] It was about October, 1664 that the County of Clarendon, named for the Lord Proprietor, Earl of Clarendon, was established;[420] and "in the bounding of ye County of Clarendon the Governor and Council (and Assembly if any bee) are to make choyce of (and confine themselves and planters to) one side of yemdyne river neare Cape Faire, on which some of ye adventurers are already setled or intend to setle and ye Islands in or neare ye said River next ye side they setle on."[421] On January 11, 1665 Colonel John Yeamans was "appointed governor of Clarendon County and of all of Carolina to the Southward" and thereafter the Lords Proprietors promulgated an "agreement with all who should settle at Albemarle, at Clarendon, and at a county to be established further south, which was to be called Craven."[422] This Charles Town was deserted in September, 1667.[423] At this time an expedition to form a settlement in Carolina was sent from England by the Lords Proprietors and made in 1670 the settlement on the west bank of Ashley River some miles from its mouth and called that Charlestown which was removed in 1679 to the junction of Ashley River with Cooper River, and is now the City of Charleston, South Carolina.[424] The settlement on the west bank of the Ashley River they at first called Albemarle Point but next year changed its name to Charles Town.[425]

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[419]2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 37-39; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886 71-72, 73, 155-156; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 75-82.

[420]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 75; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 155-156, 91; 4 Ibid., 1200; 5 Ibid., 1887, 85.

[421]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 90.

[422]Ibid., 79; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1903, 76.

[423]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 159-160; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1903, 81.

[424]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 82-83.

[425]Rivers's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 94-96, 369; Year Book of the City of Charleston, 1886 267 270; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 207, 208.

The site of the present Charleston these settlers called Oyster Point until the removal of their town to that place. Then they called it Charlestown.[426] Other settlements in what is South Carolina were formed from time to time. The Indian name for Charleston Harbor was Kayawa or Chyanhaw. The Spanish name was Saint George's Bay.[427] Charlestown prospered and became soon the seat of the local government of Carolina.[428]

Those concerned in American matters were hard to persuade that the Pacific Ocean was not near the Atlantic, that there was not somewhere a navigable water connection between them, that the Mississippi was not a great sea instead of a large fresh-water river running southward, and that there was not a Peru of immense wealth in North America. Exploration had become a mania. The search for gold and silver was an epidemic. To get to the orient by a western route promised to thousands of people unlimited power and riches and even immortality. The folly of such expectations, clearly shown by discoveries already made, was incredible so long as some part of the earth had not been seen; and every one must see for himself.

In the spring of 1669 Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, planned an expedition which he was to make with two hundred gentlemen "to find out the East India Sea, and we had hopes that in our Journy we should have found some Mines of silver, for certaine it is that the Spaniard in the same degrees of latitude has found many"; but he was prevented by heavy rains and by the recollection that "I had not his Majestie's Commission to justify so bold an undertaking to this I added the memory of the misfortune of Sir Walter Rawleigh. But my Lord if his Majestie be pleased I shall prosecute this designe and will send me his commission to doe it I shall this next spring goe with such a strength that shal secure me against al opposition whether of the Spaniards or Indians and my Lord if we mete with the Spaniards it will be in those degrees of latitude which his Majestie Predecessors have claymd thes foure score

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[426]Rivers's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 128-129.
[427]Rivers's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 95; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 208.
[428]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 83; Rivers's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 115.

yeares and more my Lord."[429] He proceeded, anyhow, to send out exploring parties.[430]

There was in Virginia at this time a German physician, John Lederer, who spent a great while there. He was a man of learning, inclined to adventures, and desirous of undertaking explorations of which there was so much talk. Of him little more is known than his accounts of the journeys which he made and that in making them he had the encouragement and financial and other assistance of Berkeley. The first of these was in March, 1670 from an Indian village called Shickehamany (Chickahominy) "at the falls of the Pemaoncock (Pamunky) alias York-River in Virginia" to the mountains from which he imagined that he beheld the Atlantic Ocean and probably had the first white man's view of the Valley of Virginia.[431] The second and most important of these journeys was begun at "the falls of James-River, in Virginia," (Richmond), and went up the river until all the party went back except Lederer and a Susquehanna Indian, Jackzetovow, who continued to the "southwest and by south" until on June 9, they came to Sapon, a village of the Nyhassans situate on a branch of the Shawan (Chowan), "alias Rorenock-river" (the Roanoke) about one hundred miles from Mahock and saw there in the Indian temples a large quantity of unbored pearls taken by those Nyhassans from Indians of Florida. These people had been for ten years at war with the whites but treated Lederer kindly. He says that the town of Sapon was in Carolina;[432] but it appears to have been on Otter River, a tributary of the Staunton or Roanoke in Capmbell County, Virginia, about fifteen miles south of Lynchburg.[433] Fifty miles southwestwardly he came to Akenatzy (Occoneechi), an island in the same river; and met there four strange Indians whom he found to have crossed a great water and he thought had "come from the island of New Albion or California, from whence we may imagine some great arm of the Indian Ocean or bay stretcnes into the

[429]Alvord and Bidgood's First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 175-176.
[430]Ibid.,177-179.
[431]Ibid., 145-149; Discoveries of John Lederer, 1902 Edition, 9-12.
[432]Alvord and Bidgood's First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 149-153; Discoveries of John Lederer, 1902 Edition, 12-15.
[433]Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 30, 34 and prefixed map.

continent towards the Apalataean mountains in the nature of a mid-land sea, in which many of these Indians might have perished. To confirm my opinion on this point, I have heard several Indians testifie, that the nation of Rickohockans, who dwell not far to the westward of the Apalataean mountains, are seated upon a land, as they term it, of great waves; by which I suppose they mean the sea shore.[434] The next day after my arrival at Akenatzy, a Rickohockan Ambassador, attended by five Indians, whose faces were coloured with auripigmentum (in which mineral these parts do much abound) was received, and that night invited to a ball of their fashion; but in the height of their mirth and dancing, by a smoke contrived for that purpose, the room was suddenly darkned, and for what cause I know not, the Rickohockan and his retinue barbarously murthered. This struck me with such an affrightment, that the very next day, without taking my leave of them, I slunk away with my Indian companion."[435] Departing from Akenatzy on June 14, he reached Oenock, thirty odd miles further southward, on the 16th. Fourteen miles further southwest were the Shackory Indians; and from there forty miles west southwest Lederer came, on June 19, to Watary where their King hired three young men to kill as many young women of their enemies as they could "to serve his son, then newly dead, in the other world," and these returned with the scalps of three young girls. Thirty miles west was "Sara; here I found the ways more level and easie. Sara is not far distant from the mountains, which here lose their height, and change their course and name: for they run due west, and receive from the Spaniards the name of Suala. From these mountains or hills the Indians draw great quantities of cinabar with which beaten to powder they colour their faces: this mineral is of a deeper purple than vermillion."[436] This Sara, Suala, Suali, Xuala, Xualla, Chouala, Cheraw, Saura, and Sualy, a place and Indian people known variously by these and about sixteen other names, situated in the piedmont region of North Carolina, a short

[434]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration to the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 155.
[435]Ibid., 155-156.
[436]Ibid., 155-159.

distance east of the Blue Ridge, southeast of Asheville, North Carolina, between the upper waters of Broad River and the upper waters of the Catawba River, were well known to early explorers from Hernando de Soto down.[437] On June 25 Lederer came to Wisacky, south southwest from Sara, south of Charlotte and later on the North and South Carolina border, this now being Waxhaw;[438] and the way from Sara to Wisacky being "over a continuous marish overgrown with reeds from whose roots sprung knotty stumps as hard and sharp as flint. I was forced to lead my horse most part of the way, and wonder that he was not either plunged in the bogs, or lamed by those rugged knots. "This nation is subject to a neighbour King residing upon the bank of a great lake called Ushery, invironed of all sides with mountains, and Wisacky marish." Crossing a fresh river which runs into this lake Lederer entered a large town on June 26, the prince of which town was "in continual fear of the Oustack Indians seated on the opposite side of the lake; a people so addicted to arms that even their women come into the field and shoot arrows over their husbands shoulders." Of the usheries he says that "These miserable wretches are strangely infatuated with illusions of the devil: it caused no small horrour in me, to see one of them wrythe his neck all on one side, foam at the mouth, stand bare-foot upon burning coal for near an hour, and then recovering his senses, leap out of the fire without hurt or signs of any. This I was an eye-witness of. The water of Ushery-lake seemed to my taste a little brackish; which I rather impute to some mineral waters which flow into it, than to any saltness it can take from the sea, which we may reasonably suppose is a great way from it. Many pleasant rivulets fall into it, and it is stored with great plenty of excellent fish. I judged it to be about ten leagues broad: for were not the other shore very high it could not be discerned from Ushery. How far this lake tends west-

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[437]Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 56-61; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 509, 532, 194-195, 380, 409; 1 Hodge's Hand book of Aemrican Indians, 1907, 244-245; 2 French's Historical Collections of Louisiana, Prefixed map of William Del'Isle, 1850; 2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 294-295.

[438]Alvord and Bidgood's First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 159; Kinkland and Kennedy's Historic Camden, 1905, 46-47; Rumple's History of Rowan County, 1881; Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 70, 74-76.

erly, or where it ends, I could neither learn or guess." He learned "from the Usheries, and some Sara-Indians that came to trade with them, that two-days journey and a half from hence to the Southwest, a powerful nation of bearded men were seated, which I suppose to be the Spaniards, because the Indians never have any; it being an universal custom among them to prevent their growth by plucking the young hair out by the roots. Westward lies a government inhospitable to strangers; and to the north, over the Sula Mountains, lay the Rickohockans. I thought it not safe to venture myself amongst the Spaniards, lest taking me for a spy, they would either make me away, or condemn me to a perpetual slavery in their mines. Therefore not thinking fit to proceed further, the eight and twentieth of June I faced about, and looked homewards."[439] The Usheries are said to have been the Catawbas.[440] The Rickohockans were the Cherokees.[441] On his return Lederer says that he travelled eleven days through a sandy desert, and on July 14, having passed the head of Eruco River, he came to "a place of great Indian trade and commerce, and chief seat of the haughty Emperour of the Tuskiroro's called Kashufara, vulgarly Kaskous" and on the 16th arrived at "Kawitziokan, and an Indian town upon a branch of Korenokeriver" (Roanoke), and went thence to Menchaerinck, on the 18th and on that day reach Notoway and Apamatuck in Virginia."[442] In this account by Lederer of his second expedition there are such obvious blunders that it has sometimes been rejected too hastily as wholly a work of fiction. He made in August 1670 into the interior of northern Virginia, a third expedition. In some general observations he says that the piedmont country called by him "Highlands" extending from the rapids of the rivers to the foot of the mountains, was known to the Indians as Ahkonstschuck; that the mountains called by the Spaniards Apalataei, from

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[439]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 159-161.

[440]T. J. Kirkland and R. M. Kennedy's Historic Camden 1905, 46-47; Byrd's History of the Dividing Line, 1866 Edition, 141; J. Rumple's History of Rowan County, 1881, 16.

[441]Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East 1894, 28; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 183-187; 1 Hodge's Hand-book of the American Indians, 1907, 248-249.

[442]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 149-163; Discoveries of John Lederer, 1902 Edition, 12-23; 2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, 1858, 43-53.

the nation Apalakin was known to the Indians as "Paemotinck (or the origine of the Indians)"; that Sara in the Warrenuncock dialect is Sasa or Sualy; that the flat lands between the rapids of the rivers and the sea are known to the Indians as Ahkynt; that these parts were formerly possessed by the Taccialias Dogi, now "extinct"; that the Appalachian Mountains are barren uninhabited rocks which send out to the east rich promontories known to the Indians as Tanx Paemotinck (alias Aquatt); that the Indians then in Virginia came from the northwest and drove out an exceedingly primitive and ignorant population. His accounts in Latin, were translated into English and published with Lederer's map, in 1672 by Sir William Talbot, Baronet, of Maryland, under the title of "The discoveries of John Lederer In three several Marches from Virginia to the west of Carolina, and other parts of the continent: Begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670. Together with a General Map of the whole Territory which he traversed. Collected and Translated out of the Latine from his Discourse and Writings By Sir William Talbot Baronet," published in London and dedicated to "the Right Honourable Anthony Lord Ashley, Baron Ashley of Wimborn St. Giles, Chancellor of his Majesties Exchequer, Under-Treasurer of England, one of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesties Treasury, one of the Lords of his most Honourable Privie Council, and one of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina."[448] The book has been republished several times, once at Cincinnati, Ohio, 1879; another at Rochester, New York, 1902; another in Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region at Cleveland, Ohio, 1912; and partly in 2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, Fayetteville, North Carolina.

On April 18, 1644, an Indian uprising in Virginia under the command of Opechancanough, the brother of Powhatan and the captor of Captain John Smith, took place and about five hundred of the Virginia colonists were slain. This second irruption conducted by this chief threatened the destruction of the colony; but the outbreak was suppressed

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[448]Alverd and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 131-171.

and the spirited old chieftain made a prisoner by a surprise, was murdered by one of his guards.'"[444] The Powhatan confederacy was dissolved on the death of its principal leader. The colonists took precaution against a like disaster in the future. In the following February they provided for the establishment of three forts, one at the falls of the James (Richmond), another at Pamunkey and a third on the ridge of the Chickahominy. In March, 1646 they directed a fort to be built at the falls of the Appomattox River, where now stands the city of Petersburg, Virginia, then called "Fort Henry." It had a garrison of forty-five men commanded by Captain Abraham Wood. From him it was popularly denominated "Wood." Later in the same year the place was turned over to Captain Wood to be maintained by him for three years with ten men constantly on the place, in consideration of the grant to him of the fort and six hundred acres of land and the exemption from taxes of himself and his ten men. For thirty years Wood lived at that place. It is probable that he died there. Apparently Abraham Wood was an Englishman who came to Virginia in his youth. About 1638 he began to acquire land there, and became a large landed proprietor on the Appomattox River and in Henrico County. He soon entered politics and was often a member of the House of Burgesses. In 1658 he was a member of the Council. He was at one time a justice of the peace and at another one of the special commissioners of oyer and terminer to investigate matters connected with the Bacon's Rebellion. From the position of Captain in the militia which he held when appointed to the command of Fort Henry in 1646, he successively attained every rank in the province, until he was major-general. His position as colonel came in 1656. In that year there appeared in Virginia and encamped about the falls of the James a body of six or seven hundred Indians from beyond the mountains and were known there as Richahecrians.

The Virginia assembly was then in session and sent a troop of one hundred soldiers under Colonel Edward Hill to confer with them, and if possible, avoid a conflict. Hill, having for allies some Pamunkey Indians under their Chief

[444]Campbell's History of Virginia, 1813, 62-63.

Tottopottomoy, attacked the new comers and, in the bloody battle which followed, suffered a severe defeat. Tottopottomoy and many of his warriors perished in the fight.[445] According to John Lederer this action was in the forks of Pamunkey River; but probably it was on or near the James. Under a legislative investigation Colonel Hill was removed for misconduct and the Burgesses elected Wood colonel.[446] The Richahecrian Indians then retired behind the mountains and the Virginia people were no more troubled by their presence. They were a party of Rickohockans, as they were then sometimes called, or, as they are more generally designated, Cherokees.[447]

With his headquarters at Fort Henry Abraham Wood became famous as an Indian trader and explorer. He soon established an important Indian trade at Fort Henry. Before a great while trading paths were opened to villages of distant natives. Two great routes of this commerce ran out from this place, the Occoneechee or trading path southward to the Catawbas and beyond and the trail westward to the heads of the Roanoke and over the mountains to New River.[448] Goods intended for the Indians were transported to native towns by pack-horses. Such goods shipped from England were sold by the merchants at the Indian towns or on credit to traders who were responsible and by the latter distributed to the native in their towns in exchange for skins at agreed prices; and consisted chiefly of guns, powder, shot, hatchets (tomahawks) kettles, red and blue "Planes, Duffields, Stroud-water blankets, and some Cutlary Wares, Brass Rings and other Trinkets. These Wares are made up into packs and carry'd upon Horses, each load being from 150 to 200 Pounds, with which they are able to travel about 20 miles a day; if Forage happen to be plentiful. Formerly a Hundred Horses have been employed in one of these Indian Caravans, under the Conduct of 15 or 16 persons only, but now the Trade is much impair'd, insomuch that they seldom go with half that Num-

[445]W. D. Neill's Virginia Carolorum, 1886, 245-247.
[446]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 29-31, 34-42, 146, 155; Campbell's History of Virginia, 1813, 66-67; Discoveries of John Lederer, 1902 Edition, 10; Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 28, 30.
[447]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1902, 155.
[448]Ibid., 32.

Sir Francis Drake

HE RESCUED RALEIGH'S FIRST COLONY AND TOOK THE SURVIVORS BACK TO ENGLAND

ber."[449] The Occoneechee Trading Path ran out from the site of the modern Petersburg and crossed the Roanoke River at a ford nearly due north of where Warrenton, North Carolina, is,[450] and passed on to what is now Hillsboro, North Carolina, from which place it ran almost along the line of the present Southern Railway through or near Greensboro, Salisbury, and Charlotte into South Carolina,[451] it is said; but a map prefixed to the first volume of Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, (1836) entitled "Map of North and South Carolina accurately copied from the old maps of James Cook published in 1771 and of Henry Mouzon in 1775" makes "The Western Gr. Trading Path" extend from Hillsboro to Salisbury and southward by leaving the site of Greensboro about twenty miles to the northwest. A description of the line pursued by this celebrated trading-path is given in Byrd's History of the Dividing Line, 1866, 180-181 and Rumple's History of Rowan County, 1881, 15-19.

At the Trader's Ford of the Yadkin, near Spencer, North Carolina, the Virginia traders who used this trading-path were accustomed to stop for several days in order to procure rest and recuperation for themselves and their horses.[453] Gradually these trading parties passed onward beyond the Catawbas and even through the northern parts of Georgia to the more northern Cherokee towns.[454]

The principal town of the Appomattox Indians was on Appomattox River opposite Fort Henry. These Indians were frequently employed by Wood as messengers and guides. (His trains of pack-horses were loaded and started at this village).[455] From that place Wood sent out also exploring parties.[456] On May 17, 1673, General Abraham Wood sent James Needham, an Englishman, and Gabriel Arthur with some Indians to "discover beyond" the mountains. This party passed Occoneechee and beyond met a number

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[449]1 Byrd's History of the Dividing Line, 1866, 180.
[450]Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 46.
[451]Ibid., 41.
[452]1 Byrd's History of the Dividing Line, 1866. 181.
[454]Ibid., 141-142.
[455]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1812, 32-33.
[456]Ibid., 181-205, 70-78; Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 26-34, 36; Christopher Gist's Journals, 1893, 21, 143, 18; C. Thomas's The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times, 1890, 10.

of Tomahitans on their way to Occoneechee. The Tomahitans were Cherokees.[457] The exploring party, awaiting the return of the latter, went with them to the Tomahitan country. For nine days they marched beyond Occoneechee southwestwardly, passing nine rivers and creeks, to the mountains. At the end of the ninth day they came to an Indian town called Sitteree, probably the same as Seretees or Santees, beyond which there was no path until within two days of their destination. From Sitteree they began to ascend the mountains and, after four days of climbing westward, reached the crest, sometimes riding and sometimes forced to lead their horses. The summit was not wider than two hundred yards and the easy descent was accomplished in half a day. Then they came to level ground with many "slashes" or swamps overgrown with bushes, near the heads of small branches. "The slashes are full of very great canes and ye water runes to the northwest." Passing in succession five fordable rivers all running in a northwestern course and having pebbled bottoms, two hundred yards beyond the fifth river they found plains over which they travelled for some time. For several days after passing the mountains they were descending having on their right straggling hills distant about two days journey. All their horses but one had now died from hard travel and insufficient feeding. Then rain clouds appeared in the north. For several days, throughout which they kept a west course, quantities of game were seen. At the expiration of fifteen days from Sitteree they came to the Tomahitan river, the sixth beyond the mountains. Crossing this river in canoes while their horses waded partly through and swam the remainder, they saw the Tomahitan town four hundred yards below and went to it. On one side it was fortified by the high river bank and on the other three sides by upright trees two feet in diameter and twelve feet high set in the ground and surmounted by scaffolds with parapets behind which defenders might stand and fight assailants. It was a square town with sides three hundred yards long and streets between rows of houses. The visitors were "very kindly entertained by them, even to adoration in their cerrimonies of courtesies

[457]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 81.

and a stake was sett up in ye middle of ye towne to fasten ye horse to, and aboundance of corne and all manner of pulse with fish, flesh and bearesoyle for ye horse to feed upon and a scaffold sett up before day for my two men and Appomattocke Indian that theire people might stand and gaze at them and not offend them by their throng." The town had store of fish and "many homes like bulls homes lye upon thiere dunghills;" and "many nations of Indians inhabitt downe this river, which runes west upon ye salts which they are att warre withe and to that end keepe one hundred and fifty canoes under ye command of theire forte, ye leaste of them will carry twenty men, and made sharpe at both ends like a wherry for swiftness. Eight days jouny down this river lives a white people which have long beardes and whiskers and weares clothing, and on some of ye other rivers lives a hairey people, not many yeares since ye Tomahittans sent twenty men laden with bear to ye white people, they killed tenn of them and put ye other tenn in irons, two of which tenn escaped and one of them came with one of my men to my plantation." When they had rested at this town for a short while, James Needham left Gabriel Arthur with the Tomahittans until the next year to learn their language, and returned, with the Appomattox Indian the horse and twelve Tomahittans, eight men and four women, to Fort Henry. One of these eight men had been in the party so imprisoned by the whites. After an absence of nearly four months, James Needham reached Fort Henry, September 10, 1673.

It appears that up to this time the only white people with whom the Tomahittans had come in frequent contact were the Spaniards of Florida. They had sixty guns, the locks of which differed from those in use among the English; and the Indians who had been in prison had seen among the Spaniards "a bell which is six feet over which they ring morning and evening and att that time a great number of people congregate together and talkes he knows not what they have many blacks among them. Oysters and many other shell-fish, many swine and cattle. Theire building is brick, the Tomahittans have a mongest them many brass pots and kettles from three gallons to thirty, they have two

mullatto women all ye white and black people they take they put to death since theire twenty men were barborously handled."

James Needham and the visiting Tomahittans rested nine days at Fort Henry. On September 20, 1673, they started to go again to the Tomahittan country. Needham intended to return with Arthur the next spring. An Occoneechee Indian called John, whose Indian name was Hasecoll, "a fatt thick bluff faced fellow," had gone before to the Tomahittan town with Needham and Arthur and returned with the former to General Wood's and received a satisfactory compensation for his services. He had agreed with Wood to accompany Needham on the second trip to protect him and the visiting Tomahittans and return with Needham the next spring. For this service to be rendered by him he received half of his pay in advance and the remainder was to be paid to him when they came back. Two days' journey beyond Occoneechee was the Indian town of Eno, now Hillsboro, North Carolina. From Eno General Wood learned that the party had passed on its way. Needham set out from Eno with his companions on the way to Sara. Among these companions were Indian John and some other Occoneechees. They reached in safety the Sarrah River, but "it happened as they past Sarrah River an Indian lett his pack slip into ye water whether on purpose or by chance I cannot judge, upon this some words past betwine Needham and ye Indian. Occoneechee Indian John tooke up Mr. Needham very short in words and so continued scoulding all day untill they had past ye Yattken towne and soe over Yattken river, not far from ye river Mr. Needham alighted it not being far from the foot of ye mountaines, and there took up theire quarters. Still Indian John continued his wailing and threating Mr. Needham tooke up a hatchet which lay by him, haveing his sword by him threw ye hatchet on ye ground by Indian John and said what John are you minded to kill me. Indian John immediately catched up a gunn, which hee himself had carried to kill meat for them to eate and shot Mr. Needham neare ye burr of ye ear and kill'd him notwithstanding all ye Tomahittans started up to rescue Needham but Indian John was to quick for them, soe died this heroyick English

man whose fame shall never die if my pen were able to eternize it which had adventured where never any English man had dared to atempt before and with him died one hundred and forty-foure pounds sterling of my adventure with him. I wish I could have saved his life with ten times ye vallue. Now his companions ye Tomahittans all fell a weeping and cried what shall wee doe now you have killed ye English man wee shall be cut off by ye English. Indian John drew out his knife stept a crosse ye corpse of Mr. Needham, ript open his body, drew out his hart, held it up in his hand and turned and looked to ye eastward, toward ye English plantations and said he vallued not all ye English. Ye Tomahittans reployed, how dare you doe this, wee are all afraid of ye English. Indian John reployed he was paid for what he had done and had receeved his rewarde and then laid a command upon ye Tomahittans that they should dispatch and kill ye English man which Needham had left att ye Tomahittans and immediately opened the packs tooke what goods he pleased soe much as Needham's horse could carry and soe returned backe." On reaching home the Tomahittans prepared to burn Gabriel Arthur at the stake. Their chief saved Arthur, carried him in a raid which they made on Florida Spaniards and another on Indians near Port Royal and another against Indians in the North where Arthur was captured and later returned to the Tomahittans. On May 10, 1674 the Chief took Arthur and some Tomahittans and started to Fort Henry. At Sarah four Occoneechees were waiting to kill Arthur who escaped, left the packs of the Tomahittans, who had fled, at Eno, avoided Occoneechee, and reached Fort Henry, June 18, 1674. The Tomahittans who had fled at Sarah, "comes along by Totero under ye fort of ye mountains, untill they mett with James River and there made a cannoe of barke and came down the river to the Manikins, from thence to Powetan land, and across the neck and on ye 20th of July at night arrived at my house and gives certain relation how Mr. James Needham came by his death."[468] The account of

[468]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 209-228; S. C. Williams's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, 15-88.

these explorations by James Needham and Gabriel Arthur was written by General Abraham Wood.[458]

In this way was established the first commercial relations between the Cherokees and any of the English colonies. Soon these were greatly enlarged. In 1682 Cadwallader Jones at the head of tidewater on the Rappahannock in Virginia had a considerable trade with Indians living four hundred miles to the south southwest.[460] Soon the Virginians were to meet with sharp competition in this trade from the South Carolinians at Charles Town and later with the French on the waters of the Mississippi and Mobile. The route by which James Needham approached the country of the Cherokees seems to have entered the mountains of Western North Carolina about where DeSoto had gone over and Pardo had followed, and to have passed through the present County of Buncombe in North Carolina and ended at one of the Cherokee upper towns on the Little Tennessee River in the same State.[461] As this is shown to be a most difficult way over which to transport goods, it must soon have been abandoned for the trail through piedmont South Carolina and the upper edge of Georgia and into Western North Carolina. Nearly a century later white men found the way down the Holston Valley from Virginia along the eastern border of what is now the State of Tennessee.

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[458]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 209-228; S. C. Williams's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, 1-538.
[459]Ibid.
[460]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 31.
[461]See Ibid., 82 note.
[460]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 31.
[461]See Ibid., 82 note.

CHAPTER XII.

BRITISH CLAIM, CONTINUED.

Theories aside, the parliament of Great Britain is, for all practical purposes the chief power of that country's government. It is said to consist of the King, the House of Lords and the House of Commons; but the actual power resides ultimately in the House of Lords and the House of Commons with the King as Chief executive of somewhat limited powers.

When the American affairs growing out of the discoveries of Christopher Columbus and his contemporary voyagers had grown burdensome in their magnitude and importance to the Spanish Sovereigne Ferdinand established in 1511, for the control of these matters the famous Spanish "Council of the Indies." Later on England and, after her union with Scotland, Great Britain, entered the field of American Exploration and Colonization and encountered the same kinds of trouble which had embarrassed the Spanish monarch. The new business thus thrown up the British government was immense. Then the example of Spain was followed in the appointment, in subordination to the king and his privy council of the "Committee of Trade and Plantations", or the "Lords of Trade," commonly designated as the "Board of Trade," to which were referred matters relating to British affairs in America, subject to the revisory power of the "privy council," or "King in Council." This was a system sufficiently complicated when the distance of America, the novelty of American affairs and the national conflicts in respect to ownership of American territory, are considered. To add to this complication the two grants to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina contained large governmental powers. As a matter of course these powers must be exercised in subordination to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, itself subordinate to the "King in council," of "privy council" with still an ultimate power in parliament. Lest these intricacies should not prove troublesome enough, the Lords Proprietors invented and promulgated some more involved and artificial regulations of col-

onial government which they called Fundamental Constitutions prepared largely by the metaphysical theorist, John Locke. Then the laws were enough entangled, especially after some additions to this new code to satisfy the longings of the most confirmed reformer and legislation monger. These Fundamental Constitutions were devised by Lord Asheley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the Lords Proprietors, and his friend, John Locke, in March, 1669 and adopted by the Lords Proprietors on July 21st of that year. Eight great offices were provided for: one the Palatine was given to the oldest of the Lords Proprietors to be devolved in succession on the death of a holder to the next oldest of them. He was the executive. The other officers were to be admiral, chamberlain, chancellor, constable, chief justice, high steward, and treasurer. Carolina was to be divided into counties, each of which should have a hereditary nobility of landgraves and caciques.[402] These Fundamental constitutions were "visionary, crude, incomplete and impracticable." They never were in full force anywhere and never deserved to be. Even in pretence they passed away when, in 1729-1744 all the governmental rights of the Lords Proprietors were relinquished and the Carolinas became royal provinces. In the meantime the Palatines had served as shown in the following:

"LIST OF PALATINES

"1. Duke of Albemarle, 21st of October, 1669, Col. Rec. nf No. Ga., 1,179.

"2. John Lord Berkeley, 20th of January, 1670, Col. Rec. of No. Ga., 1,180.

"3. Sir George Carteret, Col. Rec. of No. Ga., 1,239.

"4. William Earl of Craven, 1681, Col. Rec. of No. Ga., 1,338.

"5. John Earl of Bath, April, 1697, Col. Rec. of No. Ga., 1,476.

"6. John Lord Granville, 10th of January, 1701-2. Coll. Hist. Soc. of So. Ga., 1,105, 150.

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[402]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 98-108; E. McCrady's South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1897, 94-112; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 449-465; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 187-205.

"7. William Lord Craven, 1708, Coll. Hist. Soc. of So. Ga., 1,153.

"8. Henry Duke of Beaufort, 8th of November, 1711, Coll. Hist. Soc. of So. Ga., 1,183.

"9. John Lord Carteret, 10th of August, 1714, Coll. Hist. Soc. of So. Ga., 1,163.

"1. The Earl of Bath is mentioned as the *fourth* Palatine as follows: " '1701-2 Jan. 10, St. James House—Memorandum of the death of John Earl of Bath *fourth* palatine of Carolina (21 August, 1701, Thursday.) The Lords Proprietors did not meet until Saturday, 10 Jan., 1701-2, when John Granville, Esq., succeeded the said Earl his father as the *fifth* palatine of Carolnia.'[403] The explanation of this may be that as Lord Berkeley failed to pay his quota to the joint stock, he lost his position, as the other Proprietors did indeed sequester his share, but he certainly did succeed the Duke of Albemarle as above."[404] The Palatine presided at meetings of the Lords Proprietors in London. There were landgraves and caciques in England and in Carolina. Buncombe territory as it became later was then unsettled by white people and had neither landgrave nor cacique, red or white.[405]

The active conductors of these colonial affairs in America were the Colonial governors in Carolina. The seat of their administration when Charlestown was established on Ashley and Cooper Rivers in 1679 was located at that place.[406] This continued for about ten years. The settlement at Albemarle had extended in that period to the south and west. There were now two widely separated settlements in Carolina, one at Albemarle and the other at Charlestown. The law recognized no separation of these two places in matters of government. But popularly they became known as North Carolina and South Carolina. Even legal papers began to make this distinction. The Virginia council in 1688 spoke of Albemarle as North Carolina. On December 5, 1689, Philip Ludwell was appointed by the Lords Proprietors "gov-

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[403]Coll. Hist. Soc. of So. Ga., Vol. I, 150.
[404]E. McCrady's South Carolina under the Proprietory Government, 1897, 716; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 52.
[405]Ibid., 717-719.
[406]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 206-208; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 83; 1886 Year Book of the City of Charleston, 267, 270; River's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856, 94-96, 269.

ernor of that part of the province lying north and east of the Cape Fear."

There was then that government and another government in Carolina South and West of Cape Fear.[467] On November 2, 1691, Ludwell was made governor of Carolina and in the same month on the 8th day he was instructed: "If you shall find it needfull you our Governor are and are hereby empowered to appoint a Deputy Governor of North Carolina.[468] He did so appoint Thomas Jarvis governor of North Carolina.[469] From that time on as long as the government of the Lords Proprietors continued the governors of Carolina to act, sometimes over Carolina, sometimes by deputy in North Carolina, sometimes by deputies in both North Carolina and South Carolina separately. When, on December 9, 1708, Edward Tynte was made governor of North and South Carolina, he appointed Edward Hyde, deputy governor for North Carolina;[470] but on December 7, 1710, Edward Hyde was made governor of North Carolina.[471] Thus these governors of Carolina, appointing deputies for North Carolina were as follows: Philip Ludwell commissioned "governor of that part of the province lying north and east of the Cape Fear," December 5, 1689. Philip Ludwell, governor of Carolina, November 2, 1691.

"Thomas Jarvis, deputy, 1691-94.

"Thomas Harvey, deputy, July, 1694—July, 1699.

"John Archdale, governor, 1695.

"Henderson Walker, president of council, 1699-1704.

"Robert Daniel, deputy governor, 1704-05.

"Thomas Cary, deputy governor, 1705-06.

"William Glover, president of council, 1708—January, 1711.

"Edward Hyde", deputy governor, August, 1710—December 7, 1710.

Edward Hyde, governor, December 7, 1710—September,

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[467]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 142; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 360-361.

[468]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 373, 380-381.

[469]Ibid., 467; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 141.

[470]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 694-696; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 168, 171.

[471]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 749-750, 840-846; 1 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1857, 181-184.

1712.[472] Afterwards the governors of North Carolina under the Lords Proprietors were as follows:

"Edward Hyde, governor, December 7, 1710, September 8, 1712.

"Thomas Pollock, president of council, September, 1712-14.

"Charles Eden, governor, 1714-22.

"Thomas Pollock, president of council, 1722.

"William Reed, president of council, 1722-23.

"George Burrington, governor, 1724-25.

"Sir Richard Everard, governor, 1725-31."[473]

Then the crown acquired as of June 1, 1729, the interests, governmental and territorial, of seven undivided eighth parts of the Lords Proprietors and the other undivided governmental right, not attempted to be excised in the mean while, on September 17, 1744.[474] "After the resignation of the Lords Proprietors, in July, 1729, and the subsequent change of Government, the Province of Carolina, hitherto one, was divided, by order of the Council, into North and South Carolina.[475] That part of the Province, described generally as lying south and west of Cape Fear, became South Carolina.[476] Then North Carolina was a royal province.

On February 19, 1679, the Lords Proprietors empowered Robert Holden to march with such men as he should think proper who were willing to accompany him, into such parts of Carolina as had not already been discovered "either on this side or beyond the Apalatean Mountains," making him commander-in-chief of such forces with power to appoint officers therein inferior to himself to act when his march began and cease to act when he returned to the county of Albemarle. All others of that county were prohibited from going on such expeditions, and Holden was directed to report from time to time what discoveries he had made, what nations he had found and, as nearly as he could, the number of their fighting men, and what minerals he had observed; and was for his encouragement, to have one-tenth of all

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[472]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 53, 189, 168, 171; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 694, 696,749-750.

[473]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 53; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 749-750.

[474]2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 466-479, 15-30; 3 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 82-47; 4 Ibid., 1886, 655-663.

[475]'Statutes,' pp. 405-6.'

[476]Gregg's Old Cheraws, 1867, 37.

the mines and precious stones discovered by him and one-fifth of any trade which he should find practicable with any nations either among or "beyond the Apeletian Mountains."[477] Nothing hereunder seems to have been done by Robert Holden. In 1691, James Moore, who was Secretary of the South Carolina colony at Charlestown, made an expedition into the mountains in order to explore the county. He reached a place from which his Indian guides said that it was only twenty miles to mines then operated by Spaniards in procuring and, with bellows and furnaces, smelting ore. On account of some misunderstanding, Moore returned without making a visit to these mines and miners. He procured specimens of ores which he sent to England for assay with results not altogether unsatisfactory. His further plans of exploration met with no encouragement from the Board of Trade and were never executed.[478] It was in this year that Cornelius Dougherty, an Irishman from Virginia, expatriated himself and went to live among the Cherokees, the first white trader with them, as he was the first white man to take up his abode in Western North Carolina. This he did, not as a white settler, but as an adopted Indian. He resided on the Little Tennessee River and spent there the remainder of his life, leaving Indian descendants, some of whom "still occupy honored positions in the tribe."[479] Moore says: "I made a journey in 1690 over the Alalathean Mountains and took up seven sorts of ore or mineral stones, all differing either in weight, colour, smell, or some other qualities. By my friend, Col. Maurice Matthews, I had these tried in England. He sent word two were very good and one indifferent. On the same journey I was informed that the Spaniards had been at work within 20 miles of me. The natives described me their bellows and furnaces and said they killed the Spaniards for fear they should make slaves of them to work in the mines as they had other Indians. The places where I took up the ores are much nearer Ashley River than any place now inhabited by the Spaniards or

[477] 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 239-240; 1 Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1857, 192.

[478] Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 31; Jones's Antiquities of the Southern Indians, 1875, 51; 1 Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, 1857, 192, 208-210.

[479] Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 31; 1 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1857, 208-209.

French.[480] Plainly Moore's visit was to the country near Valley River which country he probably reached by way of the Little Tennessee River or the Hiawassee River. He offered to go by land to the Mississippi River and find its mouth and latitude in a six months' tour if the King would advance £400 or £500 to defray expences. His real object seems to have been to search for gold and silver mines. Thomas Cutler had been sent to Charles Town by the Board of Trade to search for mines and concluded from Moore's representations that Moore alone possessed the information necessary for that undertaking and went to England to induce the Board of Trade to engage Moore in it. That board answered "that their Lordships do not concern themselves nor meddle in what Captain Moore desires of them & that they the said Smith and Cutler think fit to do upon his request."[481] There seems to have been made in 1700 a similar expedition without good result.[482] Other explorers had been at work in the western parts of Carolina and Virginia, most of whom appear to have left no accounts of their expeditions.[483] Doctor Henry Woodward, who had been one of the settlers at Charles Town on the Cape Fear, in North Carolina, and had later become a resident of Charles Town in South Carolina, made several explorations in Carolina but has transmitted to posterity no accounts of them.[484]

When John Lawson took his leave of Charles Town, South Carolina, December 28, 1700, and set out on his tour of inspection through the upper parts of South Carolina and the central and eastern portions of North Carolina, his company consisted of six Englishmen and four Indians. Passing up the coast to the mouth of Santee River. "As we went up the River we heard a great noise, as if two parties were engaged against each other, seeming exactly like small shot. When we approached nearer to the Place, we found it to be some Sewee Indians firing the Canes Swamps, which drives out the Game, then taking their particular stands, kill great

[480]S. C. Williams's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, 93.
[481]McCrady's South Carolina under the proprietary Government, 1897, 347-348; River's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 1856; 450-453.
[482]2 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1857, 201-205.
[483]Alvord and Bidgood's First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1912, 192-193, 76-77, 194.
[484]McCrady's South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1897, 346; River's Historical Sketches of South Carolina, 186, 388-389; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 208-209.

quantities of both Deer, Bear, Turkies, and what Wild Creatures the Parts afford." Fifteen miles up the river they proceeded onward by land among Santees and the Congarees and the Waterees and the Waxhaws or Wiacks. They had now reached North Carolina's borders or the vicinity thereof. Passing among the Sugerees, they "reached the Kadapan King's House where we met with one John Stewart, a Scot, then an Inhabitant of James River in Virginia, who had traded there for many years. Being alone, and hearing that the Sinnagers (Indians from Canada) were abroad in that country, he durst not venture homewards until he saw us, having heard that we were coming above 20 days before. It is very odd that news should fly so swiftly among these people. Mr. Stewart had left Virginia ever since the October before, and had lost a day of the week, of which we informed him. He had brought seven horses along with him, loaded with English goods for the Indians, and had sold most of his Cargo, told us if we would stay two nights, he would go along with us. Company being very acceptable, we accepted the proposal." Now the travellers were in North Carolina. Soon they came to Sapona, probably at the Trading Ford of Yadkin River near Spencer, North Carolina, now, and stopped as guests with the King of that town. He "was a good friend of the English, and had lost one of his Eyes in their Vindication. Being upon his march towards the Appalatche Mountains, amongst a tribe of Indians in their Way there happened a difference while they were measuring of gun-Powder; and the Powder by accident taking Fire blew out one of this King's Eyes, and did a great deal more mischief upon the spot; yet this Sapona King stood firmly to the Englishman's Interest, with whom he was in Company, still siding with him against the Indians. They were intended for the South Sea, but were too much fatigued by the vast ridge of Mountains, tho' they hit the right passage, it being no less than 5 days' journey through a ledge of Rocky Hills and sandy deserts. And which is yet worse there is no Water, nor scarce a bird to be seen during your Passage over these barren Crags and Valleys." The river at Sapona they erroneously concluded to be "the west Branch of the Cape Fair or Clarendon River."

"The Saponas had (about 10 days before we came thither) taken five prisoners of the Sinnagers, or Jennitos, a sort of People that range several thousand miles, making all Prey they lay their hands on. These are feared by all the Savage Nations I was among, the Westward Indians dreading their approach. They are all sorted in, and keep continual Spies and Out Guards for their better Security. Those Captives they did intend to burn, few Prisoners of war escaping their punishment. The Fire of Pitch-Pine being got ready and Feast appointed, which is solemnly kept at the time of their acting this Tragedy, the sufferer has his body stuck thick with lightwood splinters, which are lighted by so many candles, the tortured person dancing round a great Fire, till his strength fails, and disables him from making any further pastime. Most commonly these wretches behave themselves (In the midst of their Tortures) with a great Deal of Bravery and Resolution, esteeming it satisfaction enough, to be assured that the same Fate will befall some of their Tormentors, whenever they fall into the Hands of their Nation."

The Toteros, however, who were neighbors of the Saponas, "came down from the westward Mountains to the Saponas and requested to have these prisoners turned over to them in order that they might set them free in return for a like kindness recently received at the hands of the Sinnagers by some Toteros who had been captured by them and treated with like indulgence; and the request of the Toteros was granted." A heavy wind storm followed and the "king" thought that it was because they had not killed the Sinnagers (Senecas). These Saponies, or Todirighoones, and Toteros, or Tuteloes were branches of the Catawbas and later removed to New York,[485] or, as otherwise stated, joined the Catawbas.[486] This "Trading Ford" was on the Trading Path from Virginia to the Catawbas. It crossed the Roanoke River at Moni-seep ford, thence over Tar River, thence over Flat River, thence over Little River, thence over Eno River, through the Haw Old Fields, thence over Haw River, thence over the Aramanchy (Alamance), thence over Deep

[485]W. A. Beauchamp's History of the New York Iroquois, 1905, 139-290.
[486]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 180.

River, and thence over Yadkin River, thence over Crane Creek, thence to the Catawba town of Nauvasa.[487] Then the travellers came to the Keyanee towns among the mountains, where the party separated into two, one going to Virginia and Lawson with the other to eastern North Carolina by way of Haw River and Achonachy town (Occoneechee, now Hillsboro) and Adshusheer to near Washington, North Carolina.[488]

Lawson settled in eastern North Carolina where in 1708 he became Surveyor General of the province and continued to reside there until he was killed by the Indians on Neuse River in September, 1711.[489]

The Palatinate, later Baden and Bavaria, had been ravaged with much cruelty by the French in the War of the Spanish Succession and great numbers of its inhabitants expelled. Many of these people thus driven from their homes sought refuge in England in their necessitous condition and proved a heavy expence to the British sovereign for their maintenance. For some time a number of Swiss of the Canton of Berne had been negotiating with the Lords Proprietors with a view to the formation of a colony of Bernese in Carolina. At that time there was in England a Berne man by the name of Christopher de Graffenreid, who had had his attention turned in the same direction. He arranged to carry to North Carolina and settle there some Bernese and some of these Palatines. A body of these Palatinates arrived in North Carolina and soon thereafter de Graffenreid came with his Swiss. They and the Palatines now formed in 1710 a colony on Neuse River in North Carolina under de Graffenreid and their town was named New Bern, later for a long white called Newbern.[490]

Then in 1729 North Carolina became a royal province, although some years elapsed before Lord Carteret's governmental rights were formally released to the extent of his eighth part and vested in the crown, completing thereby

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[487]1 Byrd's History of the Dividing Line, 1866, 86, 180-181.
[488]Lawson's History of Carolina, 1903 Edition, 1-33; 1860 Edition, 19-105; Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 41-42.
[489]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 180-181.
[490]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 169-171; 1 Williamson's History of North Carolina, 1812, 275-281; 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 918, 913, 914-916, 918-936.

CHARLES I., KING OF ENGLAND

BORN 1600. DIED 1649.

AFTER WHOM NORTH CAROLINA WAS NAMED

the relinquishment of all claim to proprietory control in North and South Carolina;[491] although, in fact, South Carolina had been already a royal province for some time.[492] Sir Richard Everard was governor of North Carolina when this change took place. But, in January 1730, George Burrington was commissioned governor of North Carolina, then a royal province.[493]

The following were the "Governors of North Carolina under the Crown:

"George Burrington, February 25, 1731—November, 1734.

"Gabriel Johnston, November, 1734—July, 1752.

"Nathaniel Rice, president, July, 1752—January, 1753.

"Matthew Rowan, president, January, 1753—November, 1754.

"Arthur Dobbs, November, 1754—March 28, 1765.

"William Tryon, March, 1765—June 30, 1771.

"James Hassell, president of council, July 1, 1771—August, 1771.

"Josiah Martin, August, 1771—Expelled, 1775."[494]

James II. was driven from the British throne and his not very dutiful daughter Mary (nominally) and her husband, William, Prince of Orange and nephew of James, (actively) elevated to the place in 1688. James fled to France and until his death in September 1701 planned in vain for his forcible recovery of the sovereignty. His son James Francis Edward, known as the Chevalier Saint George, or Elder Pretender, or Pretender, born a few months before his father's expulsion, in 1688, and whose mother was his father's second wife, Mary Beatrice daughter of the Duke of Modena, on the death of his father claimed the succession and endeavored to accomplish it. Mary, his half-sister, daughter of Anne Hyde, now nominally queen regnant in conjunction with her husband William, died of smallpox, December 28, 1694 (O. S.) and her husband continued to reign as William III. and died March 8, 1702. Anne, second daughter of James II. by Anne Hyde, his first wife, then be-

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[491]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 219-220.
[492]Ibid., 224.
[493]Ibid., 225-226; 3 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 66-73.
[494]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 53.

came queen, March 8, 1702 and died of apoplexy August 1, 1714. George I, succeeded August 1, 1714. He was the son of Sophia ,daughter of Elizabeth youngest daughter of James I, and sister of James II. George I. came to the throne under the provisions of the parliamentary "Act of Settlement," that, on the death of William III. and Anne without leaving heirs of their bodies, the crown should devolve upon Princess Sophia, Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, "being protestants." George I., never could speak English and was grandfather of Frederick "the Great." George I. died June 11, 1727 and was succeeded by his son George Augustus under the title of George II.

The Chevalier Saint George had failed in his efforts to regain the crown by force and on his death his son Charles Edward Lewis Cassimir, known to the Hanoverians as the "Young Pretender" and to the Jacobites as "Prince Charlie," inherited the claims of his father. In his father's life the "Young Pretender" attempted to recover the throne for the Chevalier Saint George, but always without success. In July, 1745 he went from France to Scotland, raised and army of Scotch troops, took Edinburgh, had his father proclaimed king and himself regent, entered England, captured Carlisle, withdrew to Scotland, was pursued by an army under the Duke of Cumberland larger than his own whi chhe defeated at Penrith but by which he was defeated, April 16, 1746, at Culloden, or Drummossie Moor, a barren elevated tableland in Inverness-shire near Moray Firth, and escaped at last to the continent. His army, especially the Highlanders, performed prodigies of valor at Culloden and the Scotch were treated thereafter with remarkable brutality which rendered infamous the name of "Cumberland the Bloody Butcher." Driven by these vindictive persecutions many Highlanders emigrated to America and settled with Highlanders who had preceded them from 1700 to 1739, in the region where is now Fayetteville, North Carolina, in 1749 and on to 1754 and even 1775.[405] Other settlements had been made in the eastern portions of North Carolina and

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[405]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 266; Vass's New Bern Presbyterian Church, 35-36; 4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, XIII-IX; Foote's Historical Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 125-129.

the population was spreading westward toward the middle of the province and beyond in rapid increase.

The Bohemian John Huss, born about 1369, read and began to preach the doctrines of John Wycliffe for which he was excommunicated in 1410 and, in pursuance of orders of the Council of Constance, burned at the stake on July 6, 1415. His sect survived; but, because of action of the Council of Basel in 1433, divided into two parties, one of which returned to the Catholic Church and the other became known as Bohemian and Moravian Brethren and in 1500 had four hundred congregations, but were nearly exterminated by persecution about 1617. One hundred years later Christian David led the remainder into Saxony where Nicholaus Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf, gave them a place named by them Herrnhut and, in 1727, organized the Moravian church. Moravians settled in Georgia in 1735 and removed to Pennsylvania at Bethlehem in 1740. In 1751 this body, under the name of Unit as Fratrum, contracted in London with the Earl of Granville for one hundred thousand acres of land in North Carolina. One of their bishops, August Gottlieb Spangenberg, led a party from Bethlehem to North Carolina to locate these lands. At Edenton, North Carolina, they were joined by Churton, Lord Granville's surveyor, and proceeded to the western part of the province to Catawba River. Progressing up that stream and passing a few residences of white settlers they reached Quaker Meadows, near the present Morganton, but then fifty miles from a settlement, and saw numerous Cherokee hunters and traces of buffaloes, being near "Table Rock Mountain," (Table Mountain). From the wolves they had "such music of 6 different cornets the like of wh. I have never heard in my life." They came to "Old Indian Field N. E. Branch of Middle Little River," and concluded "That Indians once lived here, is very evident, (possibly before the war which they waged with the Whites in N. C.) from the remains of an Indian fort: as also the tame grass wh. is still growing about the old residences, & from the trees. It may have been 50 years since they left this locality." They passed 70 or 80 miles "over terrible mountains, & along very dangerous places where there was no way at all," to what they

supposed to be "the Head, or a branch of New River wh. flows through N. C. to Va. & into the Miss. River." Climbing an "indescribably steep mountain," where "Part of the way we had to crawl on hands and feet; sometimes we had to take the baggage & saddles & the horses, & drag them up the mountains (for the horses were in danger of falling down backward as we had once had an experience) & sometimes we had to pull the horses up, while they trembled & quivered like leaves. Arrived at the top at last, we saw hundreds of mountain peaks all around us." Descending, "The next day we journeyed on: got into laurel bushes & beaverdams, & had to cut our way through bushes wh. fatigued our company very much." Then they met a hunter, found the nights "' horribly' cold." "The Waters are all higher than on the E. side of the Blue Ridge." They had come to within fifteen miles of the Virginia line, and next to the "Headwaters of Yadkin," found some white people returning from a deer hunt, reached the Mulberry Fields, and finally located their lands in the country where Winston-Salem is now.[496] They began their investigations on Catawba River, probably near the present Hickory and ended. them near the Mulberry Fields in the vicinity of the present Wilkesboro.[497] The Quaker Meadows derived their name from a quaker who traded there with the Indians before the French and Indian War,[498] and long before Spangenberg was there in 1751. Probably the quaker came from near what is now Greensboro. When Spagenberg speaks of climbing over extremely lofty and rugged mountains near Quaker Meadows and Table Mountain and passing to the western side of the Blue Ridge he must refer in talking of the great number of peaks in sight to the Black Mountains and he most probably was in the present Buncombe County. The Moravians called the place thus selected and purchased by them "Wachan" or "Wachovia."[499] While Spangenberg was on this survey many people were settling in western North Carolina who came from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania

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[496]5 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1887, 1-14.
[497]2 Papers of Archibald D. Murphey, 1914, 381; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina 1908, 278.
[498]A. C. Avery in N. C. Booklet, No. 3; Arthur's History of Western North Carolina, 1914, 70.
[499]Clewell's History of Wachovia in North Carolina, 1902, 6-10.

and New Jersey.[500] These were undoubtedly the Scotch-Irish and Germans' called "Pennsylvania Dutch."

[500]4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 1312-1314.

CHAPTER XIII

BRITISH CLAIM CONTINUED

Germans from the Palatinate, Wurtemberg and other parts of central Europe bordering on the Rhine, and Swiss had begun to come to America in the early part of the eighteenth century. Thousands of them had gone to Pennsylvania and many to other provinces. The great number who had gone to Pennsylvania had taken up the best lands there and new settlers were compelled to pay higher prices for inferior locations. These disadvantages, accompanied by political conditions not agreeable to later arrivals, led many of these emigrants to seek still further for permanent homes. At this time superior inducements were offered to them in the Carolinas and thither flocked many of these German families in small parties. For many years families of these people were almost constantly arriving from Pennsylvania in North Carolina and South Carolina. Along the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania, across Maryland, over the Blue Ridge, they came into North Carolina in wagons and formed homes on both sides of Yadkin and Catawba River and Chiefly in what are now the counties of Alamance, Guilford, Davidson, Rowan, Cabarrus, Stanly, Iredell, Catawba and Lincoln and in other neighborhoods of that province. Many of them went into South Carolina, settling in parts of that province as far as its western borders. Some may have reached these places, a little earlier; but most of them began to come about 1750 and with increasing numbers continued to appear for four or five years thereafter.[501] These people were commonly called Pennsylvania Dutch and their advent was contemporaneous in the South with that of the Scotch-Irish, with whom they formed colonies, often near each other but generally without commingling. Both peoples, in this manner, commenced the settlement of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia in 1735-1736. Soon some of them reached the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers in North Carolina, until in 1746 there were numbers

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[501] Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 1311-1312.

of them who had made their homes with other immigrants on or near those streams.[502]

Ireland had been nominally conquered in 1172 by Henry II. of England and had remained thereafter subject to the English sovereigns. This dominion Elizabeth endeavored to make actual. Her father, Henry VIII., had conferred the earldom of Tyrone on Con Bacagh O'Neill with remainder to his supposed son Matthew, the child of a smith's wife at Dundalk who, in the life of the smith, brought the child to Con as being his own. When Con's legitimate son, Shane O'Neill, grew up he refused to be bound by this arrangement. Said he: "Being a gentleman, my father never refused no child that any woman namyd to be his." On the death of Con, Shane murdered Matthew. Then ensued a long contest between him and the English lord-lieutenants. At last the Irishman was subdued and slain. Irish insurrections in the reign of Elizabeth were suppressed. The most serious of them was under Hugh O'Neill, son of the murdered Matthew O'Neill. Hugh succeeded in obtaining the earldom of Tyrone in 1587 and in 1593 became head of his tribe. Hugh Roe O'Donnell joined him, and all Ulster was united against the English. After some successes by both, O'Donnell fled to Spain where he died. O'Neill surrendered and retailed his earldom. Just at that time Elizabeth died and James I., came to the throne. On a rumor that Tyrone was preparing another rebellion the English attempted to seize him. Learning of this, Tyrone and and Rory O'Donnell (brother to H. O'Donnell) who had been created by James Earl of Tyrconnel, fled from Ireland to Rome. James I. now declared six counties of Ulster, namely, Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Cavan confiscated to the crown and proceeded to parcel them out among English and Scotch emigrants.[503] This is known as the "Plantation of Ulster." The proclamation which invited the Scotch to go to Ireland was dated at Edinburgh, March 28, 1609, and it was therein required that the Scotch should be "from the inward parts of Scotland" and so located in Ire-

[502]Foote's Historical Sketches of North Carolina, 1846,158-199; Bernheim's German Settlements in the Carolinas, 148-154; 2 C. A. Hanna's Scotch-Irish, 1902, 37-44.
[503]Haverty's History of Ireland, 1867, 455-460.

land that "they may not mix nor intermarry" with "the mere Irish." Most of the Scotch who went were from the shires of Dumbarton, Renfrew, Ayre, Galloway, and Dumfries, and removed about 1513.[504]

Some years after Charles II. became actual king of Great Britain, he undertook to establish episcopacy in Scotland. Fanaticism, of course, controlled the execution of this design and fanaticism of course, opposed its execution. Cruel persecutions followed this senseless attempt and silly and vicious oppositions arose all about. From these persecutions many Scotch people fled to Ulster,[505] most of them from Galloway and Ayre.[506] Then came the disastrous attempts in 1715 and 1745 to regain the crown for the Stuarts; and still more Scotchmen, who had participated in them on the losing side, sought refuge in Ulster.[507] Thus a large part of northern Ireland became inhabited by Scotchmen. In Ireland they never relinquished the character and habits of Scots; and they refused to intermarry with the Irish. James II., was expelled from the throne in 1688 and William and Mary in his place were proclaimed King and Queen, February 13, 1689. Ireland sided with James who landed on that island in the next month and at once secured control of the greater part of it. On July 1, 1690 William won there the decisive Battle of the Boyne, and James fled to France. Parts of Ireland held out against the armies. William returned to England leaving the subjugation of Ireland to be completed by his lieutenant John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, afterwards more famous as the first Duke of Marlborough. Limerick, the last stronghold of James, capitulated to the English under General Ginkel in 1691, after a brief but brilliant defence. In this struggle the Scotch settlers supported the cause of William and expected at least fair treatment under his administration, an expectation which was disappointed. With the fall of Limerick the hopes of Irish Catholics ended. Their power was gone and

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[504]McLean's Highlanders in America, 42; 14 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 775-777; Harrison's Scot in Ulster, 1888, 546; 27 Columbuian Cyclopedia, 1897, „Scotch-Irish"; Hume's History of England, C. 46; 1 Wright's History of Ireland, 272-608; Haverty's History of Ireland, 1867, 455-460; 3 Wright's History of Scotland, 157; 1 Hanna's Scotch-Irish, 1902, 498-505; W. H. Foote's Historical Sktches of North Carolina, 1846, 84-108; Case of Ireland Stated Historically, 1880, 42-112.

[505]3 Wright's History of Scotland, 157.

[506]McLean's Highlanders in America, 1900, 42.

[507]Ibid., 43.

their spirited, ambitious and intelligent nobles were in exile. While that power existed a common danger from this enemy of both kept Scotch and Presbyterians and English Episcopalians from flying at each others' throats. With the removal of that danger the English Church pressed its exclusive pretentions against the Presbyterians and Independents in Ireland with the same zeal with which they had prosecuted those pretensions in Scotland against the same classes in the reign of Charles II., and this regardless of the alliance which they had maintained theretofore with these people of Ulster.[508] These claims encountered the same determined resistance in northern Ireland with which they had been met in Scotland. In this reign of William and Mary the British parliament enacted stringent laws for repressing certain important manufactures of these Scotch people in Ireland. The chief of these manufactures was woolen goods. In reply to a joint address of the two houses of parliament William declared: "I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland, and to encourage linen manufacture there; and to promote the trade of England. July 2, 1698." He kept the promise as to woollens but not as to linens.[509] As a result of the conditions thus produced, one hundred thousand operatives, principally of the Scotch stock which in the days of James I., had migrated to Ireland in 1613, and in the days of Charles II., were driven out of Scotland in 1665. Annually for a while three thousand males left Ulster for the colonies in North America. Most of these landed in Pennsylvania about 1699. At the commencement of the American Revolution eight hundred thousand of these people and their kindred from Scotland were living in the thirteen American colonies and constituted more than one-fourth of the white population of those provinces.[510] These emigrants from Ireland, although almost entirely of Scotch blood, acquired and ever since have born the name of Scotch-Irish. Finding no room for them in the eastern part of Pennsylvania, many of these immigrants passed on to the Maryland border and into the south of that province and to the frontiers of western

[508]1 Greg's History of the Unietd States, 1887, 152.
[509]W. C. Taylor's Gulliver's Travels, 1840, XXIX.
[510]McLean's Highlanders in America, 1900, 43.

Pennsylvania. Land was hard to obtain, prices for it were high, and the situation of these new arrivals was to them far from satisfactory. On the west they came in contact with troublesome Indians against whom they formed a protective barriers for the rich Quakers of eastern Pennsylvania. Soon they were involved in difficulties with these Indians who, under French incitement, were grown troublesome to all people of the English colonies within their vicinity. The provincial government was principally in the hands of the Quakers in the east, who, secure in their own homes and properties, not only refused to extend aid to the whites on the frontiers but even reproached and antagonized those whites for efforts at self-protection.[511] The quarrels with the Quakers continued for years, reaching their highest stage in 1763. Public revenues were partly expended in presents to Indians, but not to aid white people made destitute by Indian depredations. Fierce disputes ensued, almost amounting to riots, in which some Indians as well as whites suffered severely.[512] Even before this there was much discontent among the Scotch-Irish. Like their German neighbors, they had heard of the temptations offered by royal authorities to settlers in the Carolinas. People of Caucasian races have ever been addicted to occasional migrations whose general course, following the apparent movement of the sun, has been to the west. As the wave moved onward it has widened, and, again as if attracted toward the pathway of the sun, it has extended toward the south.

The Alleghany or Appalachian Mountains, the French claims and activities, and Indian hostilities now deflected for a time the westward trend of migration and turned it southward. As early as 1737 Scotch-Irish had begun to leave their habitations in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and northern Maryland and to enter the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, so called from the Shenandoah River which traverses that valley from south to north. The word, "Shenandoah," is said to mean "Daughter of the Stars."[513] Along

[511]McCrady's South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1897, 311-312; J. W. Dinsmore's Scotch-Irish in America, 1906, 36-39.

[512]Harris's Biographical History of Lancaster County, 525-530; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 277; 4 Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1894, 716.

the foot of the Blue Ridge in Virginia the Scotch-Irish thus made settlements in 1739 and soon after they began to establish homes in North Carolina.[514] Others of them came on into North Carolina, and before 1746 settled there between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers and on those streams.[515] "By means of memoranda preserved by the Clark family that have lived more than a century, along the Cape Fear river, it is ascertained that a family, if not a company, of emigrants went to the west of Yadkin, as all the upper country was then called, as early as the year 1746, to join some families that were living sequestered in that fertile region. This, the oldest positive date that is now known, indicates a previous settlement, the time of whose arrival cannot be found out, as the records of courts are all silent, and the offices of the foreign landowners were not then open for the sale of those remote fields and forests."[516] In 1749 some people, probably Scotch-Irish, were living on the upper Yadkin. When in that year a company was formed in Virginia to plant English colonists on the Ohio River, this "Ohio Company" determined to send out an agent to explore the lands on that river as far down as the Great Falls, and chose as such agent "Christopher Gist, a hardy pioneer, experienced in woodcraft and Indian life, who had his home on the banks of the Yadkin, near the boundary line of Virginia and North Carolina."[517]

In frequent bodies the Scotch-Irish continued to come from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland to the south. The route which they took to reach North Carolina and places on to the south, is laid down on the maps of that day. On one of these, Jeffry's map, it is marked as "the Great Road from the Yadkin River thro' Virginia to Philadelphia, distant 435 miles." From Philadelphia it ran through Lancaster and York to Winchester in Virginia. Thence it passed up the Shenandoah Valley, crossed the Fluvanna at Looney's Ferry, proceeded to Staunton River and down that river and through the Blue Ridge. Having

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[513]1 New American Cyclopaedia, 1869, 704.
[514]Foote's Historical Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 187-188; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 276.
[515]Foote's Historical Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 1888; Rumple's History of Rowan County, 1881, 22-23.
[516]Foote's Historical Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 187-188.
[517]1 Irving's Life of Washington, ch. 5.

passed over that mountain, it went southward and over the Dan River below the mouth of Mayo River and on, passing near the Moravian Settlement, to the Yadkin River just above the mouth of Linville Creek and about ten miles above the mouth of Reedy Creek.[518] It was called the "Upper Pennsylvania Road."[519] Over this road, a very poor one at best, and in bad weather nearly impassable,[520] came these Scotch-Irish immigrants and the Germans who followed them from the same neighborhoods, and for years poured into North Carolina and South Carolina a constant stream of population from which are descended more of the inhabitants of those States than from any other class or people.[521]

Scotch-Irish had already been coming from the northward to North Carolina in large numbers and making settlement on Yadkin and Catawba Rivers when Spangenberg made his tour through portions of that country and westward across the Blue Ridge in 1752 and they were arriving in undiminished multitudes at that time. In 1753, he says: "After having traversed the length & breadth of N. C. we have ascertained that towards the Western Mountains there are plenty of people who have come from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey & Even from New England.

"Even in this year more than 400 families with horses, wagons & cattle have migrated to this State & among them are good farmers & very worthy people who will no doubt be of great advantage to the State."[522]

Now another cause intervened to expedite this Scotch-Irish immigration to the Carolinas. Because of the explorations made by John Verrazzano along the eastern coast of North America from North Carolina to Newfoundland in 1524 when sent by Francis I., King of France, to seek a western way by water from Europe to China, the French claimed the greater part of the North American continent. In assertion of that claim another French explorer, Jacques Cartier in 1535 passed up the Saint Lawrence River as far

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[518]4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, XXI; Map accompanying Thomas Hutchin's Topographical Description, Hicks's Edition, 1904.
[519]5 Colonial Records of North Carolina 1887, 13.
[520]Clewell's History of Wachovia in North Carolina, 1902, 15-17.
[521]5 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1887, XXII.
[522]4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 1312.

as the present Montreal. In 1608 the Frenchman Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec one year after the English settlement at Jamestown. Louis Joliet, a French Canadian, descended the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers and, on June 17, 1673, reached the Mississippi River and went down it as far as the mouth of the Arkansas River, a journey in which Jacques Marquette shared. Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle in 1682 descended the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico, reaching the gulf April 9, 1682, planting there a column bearing the arms of France and taking possession of the country from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Appalachians Mountains to the Rocky Mountains in the name of the French King Louis XIV. In order to hold this Mississippi Valley they built a chain of forts from the Lakes to the Gulf and formed on the Gulf at other places in the valley other settlements, entering into alliances with many of the Indian tribes. In the advancement of their undertaking they even seemed to have extended their claims to a large scope of country lying to the east, at points, of the Blue Ridge. When in 1754 the Virginia Lieutenant-Governor Robert Dinwiddie sent a party of militia to build a fort where is now Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania the French drove off this party and themselves in 1756 built a fort at the place which fort in honor of the French general in command of their forces, Marquis de Queenie or Marquis du Quesne, they named Fort Duquesne. Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie had sent out Lieutenant Colonel George Washington in 1754 to protect English settlers on the Ohio River. Washington found there a small party of French under an officer named Jumonville exploring the roads and in April 1754 attacked him killing some of the French and taking others prisoners. This was the first conflict of the French and Indian war as it was called in America and which after England declared war May 18, 1756 developed in Europe into the Seven Years War, 1756-1763 between Great Britain and Prusia on one hand and Austria, Russia, Sweden, France, and Saxony on the other hand which ended in the Treaty of Paris in 1763. A force was organized in the French and Indian War to drive out the French from some places occupied by them in North America, including among those

places the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The command of this force was given to General Edward Braddock, an experienced British officer of Scotch birth. Braddock arrived in America, organized his troops and started on an expedition against Fort Duquesne. He was brave and incapable, ignorant and presumptious, courtly and obstinate. On July 9, 1755 as he was advancing on Fort Duquesne and about eight or ten miles away he led his army into an ambush of French and Indians on the banks of Monongahela River, was completely defeated and mortally wounded, and suffered heavy losses. "Braddock's Defeat," famed in American annals, left the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania without protection against the French and their Indian allies. This calamity hastened the movement of the Scotch-Irish to the South with increased numbers. Before Braddock's Defeat and from 1750 on these people had already formed settlements in what are now the North Carolina counties of Granville, Orange, Rowan, and Mecklenburg.[523] On June 28, 1752, Matthew Rowan, President of the North Carolina Council, wrote to the Lords of the Board of Trade: "In the year 1746 I was up in the Country that is now Anson, Orange and Rowan Countys. There was not then above one hundred fighting men, there is now at least three thousand for the most part Irish Protestants and Germans and dayley increasing."[524] So rapidly had settlement progressed in those parts of North Carolina, chiefly due to the stream of Scotch-Irish coming south that, in 1749, Bladen County was divided and the western part of it made into a new county called Anson,[525] and in 1753 the northern part of what remained of Bladen was again divided and to its northern end portion of Granville and of Johnston counties added to form a new county called Orange,[526] and in the same year of 1753 the new county of Anson was divided and its northern part made a new county by the name of Rowan.[527] In 1740 Thomas Pratt settled in what is now Mecklenburg County, North Carolina; and in 1742 small

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[523]McLean's Highlanders in America, 1900, 54.
[524]5 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 1312.
[525]Revisal, North Carolina, of 1821, 183.
[526]Ibid., 188.
[527]Ibid., 192.

numbers of Scotch-Irish had begun to come to that region for homes.[528] Eight or nine years later the population there had increased and the Scotch-Irish were arriving in greater numbers then before. The neighborhood of the dividing line between the two Carolinas in that vicinity seemed to possess for them peculiar attractions. To it they flocked for years until it was well-nigh filled with them and it became preeminently the Scotch-Irish part of America. Situated in the western end of Anson County, North Carolina, the northern portion of this territory so speedly acquired inhabitants that, in 1762, the remainder of Anson County underwent another division and its western section became the County of Mecklenburg.[529]

These early Scotch-Irish settlements in Rowan and Mecklenburg Counties included that part of the former bordering on the latter which is now the County of Iredell. On the border between these counties and extending into both the settlers began to establish their homes about 1750.[530] Long before 1776 some of these people and others of their race had gone up the Catawba and Broad Rivers and there built homes as far as to the foot of the Blue Ridge. Still the exodus from the north continued on the part of the Scotch-Irish. When the lands between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers had begun to be mostly taken up and while a multitude of these Scotch-Irish remained in North Carolina and helped to swell the population there others went forward still into South Carolina. The southern portion of these settlements about the dividing line between the Carolinas as afterwards established was equally favored by Scotch-Irish. Multitudes of them ended their long and toilsome journeys toward the South in York and Lancaster Counties of South Carolina; and the names of those counties, once called districts, bear evidence of the Pennsylvania sources from which they derived the greater numbers of their first white settlers, as well as the class to which those settlers belonged. There on that border line "John Lawson, Gentleman," in his long journey of a thousand miles through

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[528]Alexander's History of Mecklenburg County, 1902, 9, 10.
[529]1 Revisal, North Carolina, of 1821, 221.
[530]Hunter's Sketches of Western North Carolina, 1877,95 ;, Foote's Historical Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 433 and passim.

Carolina forests in 1700 found in the Waxhaws the most hospitable, cleanly, wealthy and civilized Indians whom he ever met. There, as he declared, the land was so productive that the cornstalks were as thick as the small of a man's leg and "so durable (in its fertility) that no labour of Man, in one or two Ages, could make it poor." There later was born Andrew Jackson and Stephen D. Miller and James H. Thornwell and J. Marion Sims; and there dwelt Patrick Calhoun, father of John C. Calhoun, and grew up William H. Crawford, all Scotch-Irish, and there was raised William R. Davie, great partisan leader in the Revolution, Governor of North Carolina and founder of its university and Minister of France.[531] From there went out many of the early peoples of northern South Carolina as far west as Savannah River and across that stream into northern and eastern Georgia.[532] The Scotch-Irish in their southward migration travelled in large wagons drawn by teams of four or six horses and driven by men armed with whips of the kind commonly called "blacksnake whips" formed of a piece of leather stitched around a stick or piece of rope at the part held in the hand and tapering for about six feet to a sharp point at the other end. In order to incite the horses to exert themselves in drawing the heavily loaded wagons over the difficult trails cut through the forests and constituting the only roads in this new country the driver almost continually cracked his whip. It is said that this practice gave rise to the use from a time anterior to the Revolution, of the word "cracker" and the expression "country cracker," employed to designate the class of white people in the Southern States living outside of the towns, particularly in the up-country of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.[533] Other explanations have been given of these terms.[534]

About 1740 Scotch-Irish immigrants thus coming from the North into North Carolina formed there settlements on the rivers Haw and Eno in the central part of the pres-

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[531]McCrady's South Carolina Under the Royal Government, 1890, 316-317.

[532]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 150; Mills's Statistics of South Carolina, 439, 150, 595, 489; 1 Howe's History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, 1870, 295, 299-262; Landrum's Upper South Carolina, 1897, 21.

[533]New England Dictionary, 1893, "C," 1124; Mrs. H. C. Ravenel's Life and Times of Williams Lowndes, 1901, 68.

[534]J. R. Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms, 1896, 157, 550; 2 Century Dictionary, 1889, 1325-1326.

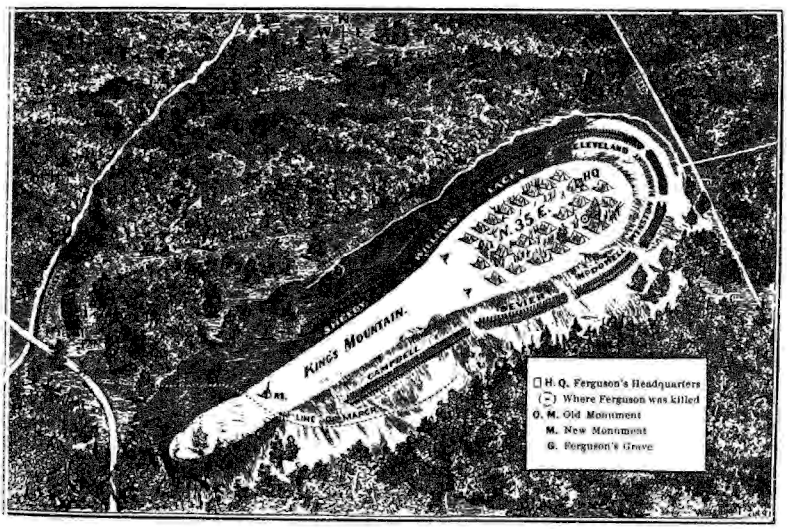

DIAGRAM OF THE BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN.

THE TURNING POINT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

ent state.[535] In the region of the rivers Yadkin and Catawba they were then settling;[536] as they had been for some years and for years thereafter continued. These settlements began subsquently to 1730,[537] and had progressed to some extent when Bishop A. G. Spangenberg, in 1751, passed through that region.[538] Prior to 1736 Scotch-Irish began to occupy the valley of the Shenandoah in Virginia near the present Winchester,[539] and a colony of the same people from Ulster, under inducement of Henry McCulloch, was formed in the vicinity of the present North Carolina county of Duplin.[540] In the meanwhile the settlements in North Carolina on the Upper Catawba commenced. In 1765 some of these Scotch-Irish built for the accommodation of immigrants on Yadkin and Catawba Rivers a Presbyterian church at what became widely known as Centre Church now on the borders of Mecklenburg and Iredell Counties; and that neighborhood became famous in this history, not only of Western North Carolina, but also in many another Scotch-Irish settlement of the South and West. From it went out many men celebrated in the colonization and growth of those regions and many families to spread abroad the influence and fame of that people.

There had lived the Davidsons and among them General William Davidson who laid down his life for the achievement of American independence at Cowan's Ford of Catawba River in 1781 and in whose honor the counties of Davidson of North Carolina and Tennessee, as well as Davidson College of North Carolina, bear their names, and whose monument stands on the Revolutionary battle-ground of Guilford Court House.[541] From Centre Church went out also Dr. Ephraim Brevard, draftsman of the Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence, the first such declaration in America, whose life was also expended in the cause of freedom.

"The tradition is, that the first white child born between

[535]1 J. W. Moore's History of North Carolina, 1880, 64; W. H. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 79, 225.
[536]Ibid., 187-188, 189, 201 202, 309.
[537]Ibid., 78.
[538]5 North Carolina Colonial Records, 1887, 1, 14; J. P. Arthur's West. N. C., 1914, 60-66.
[539]Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 78, 79.
[540]Ibid.
[541]Ibid., 433-438.

the two rivers (Yadkin and Catawba) was in Centre, in a tent pitched upon a broad flat rock, the name of the child is not certain, supposed, however, to be Mary Barnett, grand daughter of Thomas Spratt, that settled finally near Charlotte (North Carolina) and held the first court of Mecklenburg County at his house."[542] Thomas Spratt is said to have been the first man who crossed the Yadkin on wheels.[543]

From the region of Old Centre Church went the body of men and women who, at Bee Tree Creek formed in 1785—the first permanent white settlement in the present North Carolina, the first settlement in what became Buncombe County.

Thus bodies of Scotch Irish, dissatisfied with the opportunities open to them in Southeastern Pennsylvania and the adjacent country in northern Maryland (country until the famous Mason and Dixon's Line was run in 1763-1767 claimed by Pennsylvanians as a part of their province) and from adjoining parts of Delaware and New Jersey, passed southward into Virginia, and about 1735, began there the settlement of the valley of the Shenandoah.[544]

Thus families of them, a little prior to 1750 moving toward the South, established themselves in the portions of North Carolina and South Carolina immediately east of the mountains,[545] and in northern Georgia. Other families of them found homes in the country immediately west of those mountains in what is now the State of Tennessee[546]

Then in 1770, began the struggle for independence. Foremost of the advocates of Colonial rights were the Scotch-Irish of the South. Two thousand of them who lived in the County of Orange and adjoining territories of North Carolina gathered in resistance to exactions of the colonial government of that province, and, on May 16, 1771, met the

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[542]Ibid., 434.

[543]W. H. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 510.

[544]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 276; 2 W. H. Foote's Sketches of Virginia, 1856, 13-17; Hanna's Scotch-Irish, 1907, 25-50, 94-120, 128-130.

[545]W. H. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 190, 292, 206-208; 1 J W. Moore's History of North Carolina, 1880, 81.

[546]W. H. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 188, 187, 309-311; Rumple's History of Rowan County, 1881, 22-23; 1 Irving's Life of Washington, ch. 5; 4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, XXII, 131 c; T. Hutchins's Topographical Description, Hicks's Ed., 1904, Map; 5 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1887, 13; Clewell's History of Wachovia in North Carolina, 1902, 15-17; McLean's Highlanders in America, 1900, 40, 61; 2 Hanna's Scotch-Irish, 1907, 25-44.

royal forces under Colonel William Tryon, then governor for the King, on the banks of the Alamance in the modern County of Alamance, near the present town of Burlington, and engaged those forces in a battle of two hours duration. That was the first battle of the American Revolution. The men who thus defied the authority of the British king called themselves Regulators. They were injudicious men without military skill, competent leaders, or necessary ammunition. They were defeated and several of them lost their lives.[547]

(The race of Scotchmen that emigrated to Ireland — in contradistinction from the native Irish, they called themselves *Scotch*; and to distinguish themselves from the natives of Scotland their descendants have received the name *of Scotch-Irish.*)[548]

The Scotch Irish of the North Carolina Counties of Mecklenburg and adjoining territory were the first people of European extraction on the North American continent to declare independence. This they did at Charlotte, North Carolina, on May 20, 1775.[549] When the War of the Revolution came these Scotch Irish were active and constant in devotion to its principles, faithful in adherence to its cause, and ardent, courageous and self-sacrificing in battles fought for its maintenance.[551] After that contest ended numbers of them turned to the West and composed large parts of the populations of the new states in the Mississippi Valley.

At the time when these migrations of the Scotch Irish

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[547]McLean's Highlanders in America, 1900, 54-56; Revolutionary History of North Carolina, 1853, 13-41; General Bradley T. Johnson of Maryland in Our Living and Our Dead, June, 1875, V. 2, N. 4, PP. 424-428; Fitch's Some Neglected History of North Carolina, 1905; 1 Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851, 58-60; 2 Ibid., 11-19, 300-331, 348- 349; W. H. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 237-238, 46-67.

[548]W. H. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 89-90.

[549]McLean's Highlanders in America, 1900, 56; Revolutionary History of North Carolina, 1853, 45-98; 1 Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851, 69-70, 254-260; J. S. Jones's Defence of North Carolina, 1834; Alexander's History of Mecklenburg County, 1902, 25-34; 2 Martin's History of North Carolina, 1829, 372-376; Johnson's Traditions of the Revolution, 1851, 76-81; Statement of Robert Henry In Asheville Citizen, July 26, 1898; Kirkland and Kenney's Historic Camden, 1905, 326-343; A. Graydon's Memoirs, 1841, J. S. Littell, Editor, 323; General Bradley T. Johnson of Maryland in Our Living and Our Dead, June, 1875, V. 2, N. 4, PP. 424-428; C. L. Hunter in Southern Literary Messenger, November, 1836, V. 5, N. 11, PP. 748-751; Johnson's Jones in Our Living and Our Dead, V. 3, 1875, August, N. 2, 187-199; September, N. 3, 336-345; October, N. 4, 474-481; November, N. 5, 604-611; December, N. 6, 720-728, containing an elaborate summary of the evidence.

[551]W. H. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 239-240, 247, 252, 255-256, 421, 423, 476, 504, 230, 254, 264, 271, 434, 521.

were made to the South, bodies of Germans, starting from the same neighborhoods and following the same trails moved in the same directions and formed settlements in the valley of the Shenandoah and in the piedmont regions of the Carolinas. These settlements were side by side with the settlements of the Scotch Irish, but never on the same lands. These Germans were popularly called "Dutch," or "Pennsylvania Dutch." They differed in language, customs, and religion from the Scotch Irish, and, because of those differences, the two peoples usually remained distinct and for many decades rarely intermarried or sustained toward and with each other such social relations as might have been expected in the case of near neighbors having similar interests and subject to like dangers. To this day the prevalence of German names, sometimes anglicized, is observable in localities in which these German communities were planted nearly two centuries ago. Such places are found in North Carolina counties, beside others, of Rowan, Catawba, Lincoln, Cleveland, Cabarrus, Rutherford, and even Haywood. These migrations of both Scotch and Irish and Germans were accelerated and increased by an unexpected occurrence of much importance in American history.

The Valley of the Mississippi on the eastern side of the river was claimed by both the French and the English. Attempts of either nation to form a settlement in the northern parts of that region met with armed resistance from the other nation. Warlike encounters ensued. These resulted in the French and Indian War, 1754-1763.[552] In 1753 the French built a fort where now stands the city of Pittsburg in Pennsylvania. They named it Fort Duquesne. An attempt by the English, under General Edward Braddock, to take this fort ended on July 9, 1755 in the complete defeat on the banks of Monongehela River of the English general and the destruction of his army. For years Europeans in western Pennsylvania and especially the Scotch Irish and German population of that region, suffered much at the hands of the Indians on their western frontier. These Indians were allies of the French. On Braddock's defeat the outrages committed by these savages upon the neighboring

[552] Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 215-216.

Scotch Irish and Germans were intolerable. Under such conditions the Scotch-Irish and Germans, already dissatisfied with their homes, sought to escape the dangers and annoyances of which they were thus victims by removing to the South, which then held out many inducements to new settlers.[553] But their change of residence to the southern lands did not secure complete exemption from Indian depredations. The Catawba Indians, whose homes were on the Catawba River below Charlotte were friendly. But further to the west and south lived the Cherokees. These had long been incited by French emissaries to acts of hostility against other white men and who had become as James Adair, famous as an Indian trader and writer on Indian affairs, said "a nest of apostate hornets,"[554] and were always ready for mischief. Moreover, occasional bands of Shawnees, who boasted that they had killed more white people than any other Indians, roamed through the country. Some injuries perpetrated upon Cherokee warriors by Germans in Virginia led to Cherokee outbreaks which were managed with much indiscretion by South Carolina authorities. In this way the Cherokees, even when not avowed enemies, were a serious menace to all white people for hundreds of miles around. Often they committed inroads upon the settlers on the Catawba and the Yadkin and inhabitants of those vicinities. Some of the Scotch Irish emigrants from Ireland to America landed at Charlestown, South Carolina, and many of them passed on into the middle and upper parts of that state and even as far north as Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, forming, with Scotch Irish who had come by way of the north and met them, settlements at various places and of considerable size and number.

On June 17, 1755 Governor Arthur Dobbs, royal executive of North Carolina, selected a site for a fort on Third Creek a little west of Salisbury, North Carolina, for the protection of the new settlements then rapidly springing up in that region.[555] This fort was built by Captain Hugh Waddell on Fourth Creek, a tributary of Yadkin River, in 1756. It was called Fort Dobbs and stood in the suburbs of the pres-

[553]W. H. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 163, 185, 202, 479.
[554]American Indians, 1775, 240.
[555]5 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1887, 357.

ent Statesville.[556] In that year Cherokees committed depredations upon the settlers on Catawba River;[557] and also depredations in 1755 as well as in 1759 or 1760. On February 27, 1760 they began an unsuccessful assault on Fort Dobbs and ravaged that region for many miles around.[558]

At this time the French and Indian War was in progress. The Cherokees also made incursions into northern South Carolina during this period. In these they perpetrated many massacres and devastations throughout the country of the white residents there.

In the summer of 1756 the South Carolina government had built a fort among the Overhill Cherokees on Little Tennessee River near the south bank of that stream not far from Tellico River and five miles below and west of Chote, all now in the State of Tennessee. This fort was intended for a trading station and was garrisoned by South Carolina militia. In honor of the commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, the fort had been named "Fort Loudon."[559] In the course of the French and Indian War the Cherokees living near Fort Loudon, then allies of the French, laid siege to that fort.[560] In this condition of affairs South Carolina applied for aid to General Amherst, then commander-in-chief of the British troops in North America. He sent them a body of Highlanders under the command of Colonel A. Montgomery, afterwards Earl of Eglinton. These reached Charleston, April 1, 1760. Soon they set out for relief of Fort Loudon. After reducing the Cherokee towns in South Carolina, they crossed over the mountains into North Carolina on Little Tennessee River and proceeded down that stream until they reached the Cherokee town of Etchoe, about three miles above the present Franklin in Macon County. Here they encountered a force of Cherokees by whom they were defeated and forced to retreat into South Carolina.[561] Then, on August 8, 1760 Fort

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[556]Ibid., 639; 2 Williamson's History of North Carolina, 1812, 88.
[557]2 Williamson's History of North Carolina, 1812, 88; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 50.
[558]Clewell's History of Wachovia, 1902, 33-52.
[559]Adair's American Indians, 1775, 269; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 51; Timberlake's Memoirs, 1765, Prefixed map; 2 Dinwiddie Papers, 472, 508; 1 State Records of North Carolina, 1903, 132, 151.
[560]6 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1888, 261.
[561]2 Hewitt's History of South Carolina, 1779, 232-234.

Loudon was surrendered to its Indian assailants.[562] In the next year Colonel James Grant was sent by the British commander with a body of Highland troops to Charleston and arrived at that place early in 1761. There he was joined by South Carolina militia under Colonel Thomas Middleton.[563] Setting out for the Cherokee country Colonel Grant received at Keowee in northern South Carolina another addition to his army. This was a party of militia from Rowan and neighboring North Carolina counties under Colonel Hugh Waddell. With that party were some Tuscarora Indians.[564] Grant then marched over the mountains to the Little Tennessee River in North Carolina, and down that river, burning Etchoe and fourteen other Indian towns and all the Cherokees' provisions. For thirty days he carried on this unrestrained devastation while the Cherokees, men and women and children, sought safety in the mountains. Then unmolested his soldiers returned to South Carolina and their North Carolina homes. The Cherokees were subdued and completely humbled.

The French and Indian War was ended by the Treaty of Paris of 1763, by the provisions of which all the country east of the middle of the Mississippi River as far down as the region of New Orleans was conceded to Great Britain.[565]

In 1763 a royal British proclamation or order prohibited entry or grant of land west of the heads of streams which run into the Atlantic Ocean.[566] A line was then partly run and partly agreed on between the North Carolina authorities and representative Cherokees, which divided the Cherokee country from the country of the white settlers. That line extended from a point on Reedy River in South Carolina, a few miles below the present city of Greenville, north to a marked tree on Tryon Mountain, passing close to what is now the town of Tryon; and from that tree on Tryon Mountain, now in North Carolina, Polk County, it was provided by the agreement that the line should run northwardly

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[562]Ibid., 237-238; Timberlake's Memoirs, 1764, prefixed map; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 31; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 43.
[563]McCrady's South Carolina Under the Royal Government, 1890, 250; 2 Hewitt's History of South Carolina, 1779, 244-245.
[564]2 Papers of Archibald D. Murphey, 1914, 387-388; 5 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1887, LIII-LIV; Smith's Western North Carolina, 1890, 85.
[565]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 27-28, 39-45.
[566]Ibid., 46.

directly to Chiswell's lead mine in southwestern Virginia.[567] This was then supposed to make the line north from Tryon Mountain follow the crest of the Blue Ridge. It prevented settlements in the present North Carolina west of that ridge until some years after the War of the Revolution.[568] However it did not for a great while prevent troubles to the white settlers on Yadkin and Catawba Rivers coming through the Cherokee inroads.

About four years later than the establishment of this Indian boundary these settlers became entangled in what has been called the War of the Regulation. An unsatisfactory termination of that entanglement left them with a keen sense of oppression on the part of their British rulers. Nothing happene dto reconcile them on this subject. On the contrary, the policy of the British government toward them rather increased than diminished the feeling of unredressed wrongs which had been so engendered. At last, after another four years, they reached the stage of resistance. On May 20, 1775 they declared independence at Charlotte; on May 31, 1775 they abjured British laws and repudiated British officials; then at that latter date they enacted laws for their own conduct and appointed men to execute their laws; at other places near by were selected "Committees of Safety" and similar bodies and these exercised full powers of legislation, adjudication, and administration; soon they embarked their persons and properties in the war which followed; and throughout that trying struggle they maintained their allegiance and discharged their duty to the cause which they had espoused. Then once again they became victims of Indian hostility. The British had secured the alliance of the Cherokees. Soon these active savages were again "on the war-path" on the Yadkin and Catawba as well as in Georgia, Tennessee and neighboring regions.

Shortly before these troubles began settlers, having little or no regard to the orders or proceedings of the British authorities about Indian boundaries, had begun to throng into

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[567] North Carolina Colonial Records, 1890, 108-109, 115-117, 141-142, 110, 164-165, 204, 207-208, 552, 215-217, 234, 214, 213, 220, 228-244, 245, 256, 257, 235, 268, 279, 404, 412, 413, 415, 437-438, 448, 446, 455, 460-461, 991-992, 996, 997, 462, 466, 467, 998, 999, 1006, 1007, 1000, 469, 1001, 1003, 1007, 1008, 470, 508, 509, 471, 501-553, 510; Sondley's Alexander-Davidson Reunion, August 26, 1911, 20.

[568] Ibid., 20.

Tennessee, as it is now, and establish homes there on the Holston, Watauga and Nollichucky Rivers. In 1754 only six families were living in Virginia west of New River; and these were forced to return to the east when the French and Indian War began.[569] The close of that war found the whites somewhat better acquainted with the Cherokee borders. These were principally Scotch Irish. In that struggle a regiment of Virginia militia under Colonel William Byrd had been sent to the Holston country as a protection against the Indians. "Attached to the regiment of Col. Bird, in the time of the French War, were Gilbert Christian and William Anderson, who were both pleased with the appearance of the country they had seen, and wished to explore it more carefully, after they had returned from service. They engaged John Sawyer, now Col. Sawyer of Knox County, in East Tennessee, to accompany them, in their tour through the wilderness. They, in company with four others, making seven in all, in the year 1768, left the county of Augusta in Virginia, and travelled to the waters of Holston. They traversed the country from Holston to Clinch Mountain, and down it. In the month of February in the year 1769, they crossed the north fork of Holston at the same place where the ford now is, above the mouth of the river, and pursued their usual mode of travelling, till they came as low as Big Creek, now in Hawkins County, where they found themselves in the hunting grounds of a large party of Indians. They turned about and went back up the river ten or fifteen miles, and concluded to return home. After they had crossed the north fork, going home, about twenty miles above the crossing place, there was a cabin on every spot, where the range was good, and where only six weeks before nothing was to be seen but the howling wilderness. When they passed by before, on their outward destination, they found no settlers on the waters of Holston, save three families at the head springs of the river. Thus East Tennessee began to be permanently settled in the winter of 1768-9. Then families of these settlers came from the neighborhood of the place where Raleigh now stands, in North Carolina, and settled on Watauga. This was the first settlement in East

[569]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 103, 67-69, 93, 66, 106.

Tennessee. Soon afterwards it was augmented, by settlers from the hollows in North Carolina and from Virginia."[570] This settlement was then supposed to be in Virginia and was a mere "enlargement of the Virginia settlement near it."[571] It was within the boundaries of the Cherokees who violently resented it,[572] or at least they claimed those boundaries sometimes.

With the outbreak of the Revolutionary War and the alliance between the British and Cherokees that followed the latter began to make murderous inroads into the white settlements in northern South Carolina.[572 1/2]

In the early part of July 1776 Cherokees began forays on the headwaters of Catawba and Broad Rivers in North Carolina.[573] In two days they murdered thirty-seven people on the upper Catawba.[574] John Davidson and his wife Nancy (Brevard) Davidson and all their children, but one who happened to be away from home, were murdered near Old Fort.[575] Immediately the Council of Safety of North Carolina ordered General Griffith Rutherford, of the Salisbury District to march with his brigade against the Cherokees of the Middle and Valley Towns.[576] General Rutherford assembled two thousand five hundred militiamen and encamped near the head of Catawba River.[577] Most of these forces encamped at Old Fort then called "Davidson's Fort" on Mill Creek, then called Davidson's Mill Creek.[578] On September 1, 1776 General Rutherford marched across the Blue Ridge through Swannanoa Gap, near the present "Big Tunnel," thence down Swannanoa River about one-half mile

[570]Ibid., 93-94; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 36-37.
[571]6 Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 93, 106, 66.
[572]Ibid., 102.
[572½]2 Drayton's Memoirs, 1821, 339-341, 363, 365, 344, 413-415; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 47; Landrum's Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina, 85-86, 1897, 33, 31, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96-97; 10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 771, 657; 1 Howe's History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, 1897, 85-86, 33, 21, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96-97; 10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1907, 184; Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 67.
[573]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 495; 10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 662, 669, 712, 713; Green's Historic Families of Kentucky, 1889, 20; Draper's Kings Mountain and Its Heroes, 1881, 471; Avery's History of the Presbyterian Churches at Quaker Meadows and Morganton, 1913, 71-72; Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851, 238; Bennett's Chronology of North Carolina, 1858, 20-25, 19.
[574]10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 669; Green's Historic Families of Kentucky, 1889, 20; Draper's Kings Mountain and Its Heroes, 1881, 471.
[575]Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851, 238.
[576]10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 650.
[577]Ibid., 788; 11 State Records of North Carolina, 1896, 337-338.
[578]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 205; North Carolina University Magazine, 1852, 132; Draper's Kings Mountain and Its Heroes, 1881, 151; 22 North Carolina State Reports, 1907, 113, 763-764.

from its mouth, thence to the southwest when he crossed French Broad River at the War Ford about three miles above the mouth of Swannanoa, thence up Hominy Creek and over the ridge which separates its waters from those of Big Pigeon River; thence across the last stream at its fork and through the gap so as to leave the modern town of Waynesville on the right, and up Richland Creek to Balsam Mountain pass at Scott's Creek and down that creek to its mouth and on over Tuckaseegee River and Cowee Mountain to the Little Tennessee River at the Indian town of Nequassee where is now Franklin in Macon County.[579] Leaving one thousand eight hundred men at Cowee, near Nequassee, General Rutherford, after destroying some Indian towns near, proceeded with twelve hundred men over the Nantahala Mountains to the Cherokee settlements on Valley River and destroyed these and the provisions there until he reached the neighborhood of the present town of Murphy. Then he returned by the same way over which he had entered the mountains and reached Salisbury early in October, 1776, having in about one month and with the loss of but three men destroyed thirty or forty Cherokee towns of Western North Carolina.[580]

At about the same time with this Rutherford expedition, South Carolina sent out under Major (later Colonel of the expedition led by him) Andrew Williamson, who destroyed many Indian towns of the South Carolina Cherokees and passed over the mountains into North Carolina on the Little Tennessee River. He was to have joined General Rutherford at or near Nequassee; but the latter, after waiting there for some days in vain, marched on to Valley River. Williamson soon reached Nequassee and set out to follow Rutherford; but fell into an ambush of Cherokees and defeated those Indians in a severe fight. He overtook General Rutherford near the present town of Murphy. After aiding

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[579]10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 860; 11 State Records of North Carolina, 1897, 349, 354, 355; North Carolina university magazine, 1852, 133; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1852, 164; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 525; Hunter's Sketches of Western North Carolina, 1877, 198.

[580]Ibid., 198; North Carolina University Magazine, 1852, 102, 136, 135, 133-134; 10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 860, 861; Mooney's Mytns of the Cherokee, 1902, 527, 528, 205, 149, 330, 336-337, 396, 477; 2 Drayton's Memoirs, 1821, 355, Map 343, 356; Lyceum April, 1891, 22-23; 22 State Records of North Carolina, 1907, 146, 137; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 164.

in the destruction of some Indian villages, he marched through northern Georgia back into South Carolina.[581]

The Cherokees had threatened southwestern Virginia and northwestern North Carolina at the time of their forays into northern South Carolina and on Catawba and Broad Rivers in North Carolina. An expedition against the Overhills, under Colonel William Christian, in which were some militia from northwestern North Carolina, had been expected to attack these Cherokees simultaneously with the expeditions of Williamson and Rutherford against others of these savages. General Rutherford had been directed to pass from Valley River over the mountains and cooperate there with Colonel Christian. This proved to be impossible. Rutherford, however, undertook to aid the Christian expedition. Very soon after his return to Salisbury, he sent Captain William Moore, of the Rowan region, with a company of lighthorsemen and Captain John Harden, of what is now Rutherford region, with a like company on an inroad into a part of the Cherokee country which Rutherford had been unable to reach. Captain Moore, after Captain Harden had in person joined him a short distance east of the Blue Ridge on the way, crossed Swannanoa Gap, marched down Swannanoa River, crossed French Broad River at the War Ford, and encamped on Hominy Creek until Captain Harden's force, crossing through Hickorynut Gap arrived. Then they proceeded to Richland Creek and to Scot's place on Balsam Mountain and down to Tuckaseega River and on to what they called the town of Too Cowee, said to be Stecoah, later the Thomas Farm, above Whittier. Burning that town and destroying an Indian Camp on Oconalufty River they started home, spent the night on Balsam Mountain when they experienced an earthquake, auctioned off their plunder and captives at the Pigeon River, and then reached their homes.[582]

Colonel William Christian set out on his expedition

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[581]2 Drayton's Memoirs, 1821, 343-345, 360, 264, 346-350, 369-371, 352-371, 351, 354, 355, 357, 359; McCrady's South Carolina in the Revolution, 1902, 194-195; 10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 746-747; 11 State Records of North Carolina, 1903, 349, 354, 356; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 50, 209, 551, 523, 49, 534, 538 526-527; North Carolina University Magazine, 1852, 135, 134; 22 North Carolina State Records, 1907, 146, 137; 2 McCall's History of Georgia, 1811, 204, 304-305, 206; McJunkin's Memoirs, 1925, 89.

[582]10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 895-898; Hunter's Map of the Cherokee Country, 1917; Avery V. Walker, 1 Hawks, (8 N. C.), 140-146.

against the Overhill Cherokees on October 6, 1876. He met with no resistance, and returned after destroying some Overhill towns.[583]

On May 20, 1777 at Dewett's Corner (now Due West), a treaty was made between South Carolina and Georgia, on one side, and the Cherokees by which the latter relinquished to South Carolina a large territory in the northern part of that state.[584]

On July 10, 1777 at the Long Island of Holston in Holston River in Tennessee just below the Virginia line, were begun two treaties with Cherokees, one by Virginia and the other by North Carolina, by the former of which certain land rights in Kentucky were conceded to Virginia and by the latter of which certain land rights in North Carolina now in Tennessee were conceded to North Carolina, both dated July 20, 1777.[585] These are known as the Treaties of Long Island of Holston. Two of the North Carolina commisisoners made a report to the governor of the state saying that they had secured for it certain lands extending into the Unecay Mountains and "that there is a piece of land of considerable extent, lying between the Ridge aforesaid, & the Blue Ridge of the Appalachian Mountains," important to the state, to secure which they suggested a "Treaty with the Middle Settlements."[586] This land now constitutes North Carolina west of the Blue Ridge. North Carolina provided by law for such a treaty with the middle Settlements and the Valley Towns and prohibited entry and grant until that time of land in Burke County "to the westward of the dividing ridge between the waters of the (Catawba) and Broad River on this side and the waters of the French Broad River on the other side of the Appalachian Mountains."[587] As North Carolina was never able before 1785 to pay these Indians anything, no treaty could be held for such purpose until that year. It was understood, however, that such treaty would be held and such payment would be made. Such prohibition

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[583]10 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 748, 751, 837-839, 680, 689, 892, 838, 748, 839, 842, 844, 845, 846-847; 11 State Records of North Carolina, 1903, 333, 343; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 534, 50; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 165-166, 167-169; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823, 53.

[584]Ramsay's Revolution in South Carolina, 1785, 346-350; 11 State Records of North Carolina, 1903, 417, 484-496, 451.

[585]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 1823.

[586]11 State Records of North Carolina, 1903, 566-568.

[587]12 State Records of North Carolina, 1896, 239.

of entry and grant was continued,[588] until 1783 when an act of the North Carolina legislature opened to entry and grant all lands north and east of a line running from the centre of the Tennessee River where its first crosses the southern border of the present State of Tennessee up the middle of that stream and of Holston River to the mouth of French Broad River thence up the centre of French Broad River to the mouth of Big Pigeon River, thence up the centre of Big Pigeon River to its head and with the mountain ridge to the South Carolina boundary.[589] In this last act North Carolina regarded the part of the land thus thrown open to appropriation as released from Cherokee claims, since she later provided for payment therefor to the Indians and the Indians were or had been clamorous for such payment.

Throughout the remaining period of the Revolutionary War after the Rutherford expedition most of the Scotch Irish of the piedmont regions of the Carolinas, as well as those of Georgia, Virginia and the present Tennessee continued constant in their devotion to the American cause and, in their losses and sufferings, paid dearly for that devotion. British captured Charleston and conquered and over-ran South Carolina and appeared to have removed all obstructions to the complete subjugation of North Carolina and Virginia when, at Camden, South Carolina, on August 16, 1780, under Charles, Lord Cornwallis, they completely routed and dispersed the American Southern Army under General Horatio Gates. Cornwallis advanced to Charlotte, North Carolina. There he found the Scotch Irish population so hostile in sentiment and conduct to the British that he declared that the place was "a hornets' nest,"[590] and "that hot-bed of rebellion." [591] Colonel B. Tarleton, one of Lord Cornwallis's chief lieutenants, wrote of the North Carolina counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan: "It was evident, and had been frequently mentioned to the king's officers that the counties of Mecklenburg and Rohan were more hostile to England than any others in America. The vigilance and

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[588]Iredell's N. C. Revisal, 1791, 352; 24 State Records of North Carolina, 1905, 160-161; 1 Revisal of N. C. 1821, 355-356; 13 State Records of North Carolina, 1896, 115, 136.

[589]Iredell's North Carolina Revisal, 1791, 446; 24 State Records of North Carolina, 1905, 479.

[590]W. H. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 264, 510, 230, 254.

[591]Ibid., 254.

animosity of these surrounding districts checked the exertions of the well-affected, and totally destroyed all communication between the king's troops and the loyalists in other parts of the province. No British commander could obtain any information in that position which would facilitate his designs, or guide his future conduct."[502]

While Lord Cornwallis was on this visit at Charlotte he met with other mishaps. About September 1, 1780 he had sent one of his most capable and active subordinates, Colonel Patrick Ferguson, with some regulars and a body of Tories into Western North Carolina to embody Tories, intimidate Whigs and secure the country for the British. Colonel Ferguson advanced into North Carolina to the vicinity of Old Fort. He encountered some opposition; and learning that a body of Americans, some from North Carolina, some from Virginia and some from what is now Tennessee, were in arms marching against him, he began to retreat in order to join Lord Cornwallis, by this time at Charlotte. On the way to Charlotte Ferguson was overtaken by his pursuers, whose numbers had been increased by some South Carolinians and others; and he was attacked at a place called Kings Mountain in South Carolina, a mile or two south of the North Carolina border, on October , 1780. In the battle which then followed Colonel Ferguson was killed and his forces slain or captured that day. This was the famous Battle of Kings Mountain which turned the fortunes of the Revolutionary War to the side of the Americans.[503] Lord Cornwallis then retreated to South Carolina. Then came the famous Battle of Cowpens, fought in South Carolina, three or four miles south of the North Carolina border, about thirty miles west of the battlefield of Kings Mountain, on January 17, 1781, wherein the Americans under General Daniel Morgan utterly routed the British officer, Colonel B. Tarleton; and wherein the American troops from Catawba River played a conspicuous part.[504]

Lord Cornwallis again marched north into North Carolina. On the way he reached the Catawba River at Cowan's

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[502]Ibid., 505.
[503]Ibid., 264-271; Draper's Kings Mountain and Its Heroes, 1881; 2 Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851, "Cleveland County".
[5042] E. Stedman's American War, 1794, 324; Tarleton's Campaign, 1787, 215-222, 252; R. Mackensie's Strictures, 1787, 79-118.

Ford. His crossing was opposed by General William Davidson and the militia of that region under his command. General Davidson was killed.[595] This was the General Davidson for whom were named the counties of Davidson in North Carolina and Tennessee and from whom Davidson College derived its name and to whose memory the United States erected a monumental arch on the battlefield of Guilford Courthouse. He was a first cousin to the John Davidson murdered by the Cherokees near Old Ford in July, 1776. He and that John Davidson and General Ephriam Davidson of Iredell County, another cousin of both, had married respectively three sisters, Mary, Nancy, and Anne Brevard, daughters of John Brevard and sisters of Dr. Ephraim Brevard who wrote the Meckenburg Declaration of Independence.[596] All these came from the same original stock in Ireland as the Alexanders and all the families were closely allied by blood or marriage.[597] It was from these families of Scotch Irish and their kindred and companions that the first settlement of Buncombe territory was formed.

The second advance of Lord Cornwallis into North Carolina was no more fortunate to him than his former advance into that region. He was forced to proceed from place to place until at Yorktown in Virginia on October 18, 1781, he was compelled to surrender to the Americans under General George Washington aided by French allies.[598] Then came the Treaty of Paris September 3, 1783,[599] by which "His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz: New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, Sovereign and Independent States; and that he treats with them as such."

Thus North Carolina became a "free sovereign, and independent State." Thus the British claim to the territory of what is now Buncombe County, as well as the territory now

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[595]Draper's Kings Mountain and Its Heroes, 1881, 189, 193, 216, 227, 296, 455, 520, 521, 542; W. H. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 432-434, 521-525, 522.
[596]Family Records.
[597]W. H. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 1846, 201.
[598]12 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 668.
[599]1 Stephen's War Between the States, 1868, 75; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 31-35; Stephens's Pictorial History of the United States, 1882, 268.

embraced in all North Carolina west of the Blue Ridge and much other territory, was completely extinguished.

CHAPTER XIV

STATE CLAIM

The first English grant which might cover what is North Carolina was that made March 25, 1584 by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh,[1] therein called "Walter Ralegh, Esquire," "to have, holde, occupy and enjoy to him, heires and assigns for ever" "such remote heathen and barbarous lands, counties, and territories, not actually possessed of and Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heires, and assignes, and to every or any of them shall seeme good," within six years. Raleigh planted in June and July 1585 at Roanoke Island, North Carolina, a colony and called it Virginia. In any view then, the charter embraced at least the modern States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Jersey and parts of the modern States of Florida, Alabama, Ohio, Michigan, New York, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine and part of Canada.

In 1631, on a day variously stated to be August 4, October 13, and October 30, Charles I., King of Great Britain and Ireland, granted to his Attorney General, Sir Robert Heath "all that River or Riverlett of St. Matthew on the south side & all that River or Riverlett of the great passe on the north side & all the lands, Tenements & Hereditaments lying, being & extending within or between the sayd Rivers by that draught or tract to the ocean upon the east side & soe to the west & so fare as the Continent extends itself with all & every their appurtenances & alsoe all those islands of beague Bahama & all other Isles or Islands lying southerly there or neare upon the foresayd continent all which lye inclusively within degrees of 31 & 36 of Northerne latitude"; the territory to be called "Caroline or the province of Carolina" or "Carolina" or "New Carolina." This territory so granted embraced all North Carolina and Tennessee, except a narrow strip on their northern border,

[1] 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 276-282.

all South Carolina and Georgia, parts of Florida, of Alabama, of Mississippi, of Louisiana, of Texas, of Arkansas, of Oklahoma, of New Mexico, of Arizona and of California and of Mexico.[2]

On March 24, 1663, Charles II., King of Great Britain and Ireland, granted to Edward, Earl of Clarendon; George, Duke of Albemarle, William, Earl of Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Anthony, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret; Sir John Colleton; and Sir William Berkeley, afterwards called the Lords Proprietors, "all that territory or tract of ground, scituate, lying, and being within our dominions of America, extending from the north end of the Island called Lucke Island, which lieth in the southern Virginia seas, and within six and thirty degrees of the northern latitude, and to the west as far as the south seas, and so southerly as far as the river St. Matthias, which bordereth upon the coast of Florida, and within one and thirty degrees of northern latitude, and so west in a direct line as far as the south seas aforesaid," under the name of the "Province of Carolina," "so called in honor of his Sacred Majesty, that now is, Charles the Second, whom God preserve."[3] This charter embraced most of the State of North Carolina and much other territory.

On June 30, 1665 the same King Charles II. granted to the same Lords Proprietors "all that province territory or tract. situate, lying and being within our dominions of America aforesaid; extending north and eastward, as far as the north end of Currituck river or inlet, upon a straight westerly line to Wyanoak creek, which lies within or about the degrees of thirty-six and thirty minutes, northern latitude; and so west, in a direct line, as far as the south seas; and south and westward, as far as the degrees of twenty-nine, inclusive, of northern latitude; and so west, in a direct line as far as the south seas,"[4] to be the Province of Carolina. The "South Seas" were the Pacific Ocean. The territory thus granted, bounded on the east by the Atlantic and on the west by the Pacific Ocean, included the present states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Missis-

[2] 1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 7-13.
[3] Ibid., 20-23, 155.
[4] Ibid., 102-114; 2 North Carolina Revised Statutes, 1837, 1-12.

sippi, Tennessee, and Arkansas, and parts of the following states, Florida, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, Kentucky, Missouri, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and California.

Various names were conferred by early explorers on the eastern parts of North America. To the Spaniards that country was Florida or La Grand Copal[5]; to the English under Martin Frobisher it was "Meta Incognita"[6], and under Raleigh it was Virginia,[7] and under others Norumbega;[8] to the French it was New France, Louisiane, Apalache or Apalatche[9]; to the Indians it was Yupaha, Aixican, Chiquola, Chisca, Apalatci, and Onagatano[10]; where there were "the townes of Otapales and Oligatamos."[11]

On February 19, 1679, the Lords Proprietors empowered Robert Hlden to March, with such men as he should think proper who were willing to accompany him, into such parts of Carolina as had not already been discovered "either on this side or beyond the Apaletean Mountains," making him commander-in-chief of such forces with power to appoint officers therein inferior to himself to act when his march began and cease to act when he returned to the county of Albemarle. All others of that county were prohibited from going on such expeditions, and Holden was directed to report from time to time what discoveries he had made, what nations he had found and, as nearly as he could, the number of their fighting men, and what minerals he had observed; and was for his encouragement to have one-tenth of all the mines and precious stones discovered by him and one-fifth of any trade which he should find practicable with any nations either among or "beyond the Apaletean Mountains."[12] Nothing seems to have been done by Robert Holden under these powers and instructions.

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[5]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 533-536.
[6]1 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 74-107.
[7]1 Edwards's Life of Ralegh, 87; 16 Lee's Dictionary of National Biography, 1909, 632; 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 285.
[8]2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 451, 459, 472, 453.
[9]Johnson's Atlas, 1666, Heylyn's Cosmographic, 1657, 1032; 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 443.
[10]C. Campbell's History of Virginia, 1860, 1819; 2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 576-577, 533-536; 2 Bourne's DeSoto, 1905, 94-97; 1 Ibid., 59-64. Brinton's Notes on the Florida Peninsula, 1859, 54-159; Fairbanks's History of Florida, 1871, 156-157; French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, 1857, 230, 256-261, 140-143.
[11]2 Goldsmid's Hakluyt, 1889, 413; French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, 1875, 256-257.
[12]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 239-241; I Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1851, 192; 1 Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, 1857, 208-210; Ibid., 1858, 198.

When in 1700-1701 John Lawson made his journey from Charlestown through upper South Carolina and central North Carolina to eastern North Carolina he came at one time to Sapona near the present Salisbury. There, he says, "We took up our quarters at the King's cabin who was a good friend to the English, and had lost one of his eyes, in their vindication, being upon his march toward the Appalatche mountains, amongst a nation of Indians in their way, there happened a difference while they were measuring of gun powder, and the powder by accident taking fire, blew out one of this King's eyes and did a great deal more mischief upon the spot. Yet this Sapona King stood firmly to the Englishman's interest, with whom he was in company, still siding with him against the Indians. They were intended for the South sea, but were too much fatigued by the vast ridge of mountains, though they hit the right passage; it being no less than five day's journey through a ledge of rocky hills and sandy deserts. And which is yet worse, there is no water nor scarce a bird to be seen during your passage over these barren crags and valleys."[13]

While this description fits no place in the mountains of Western North Carolina accurately it is most probable that the mountains mentioned as passed through from the vicinity of Salisbury were the Buncombe mountains. Anyhow it appears that prior to 1701 a passage through a gap of the Western North Carolina mountains had been made by an English party, and it seems to have been a different party from that led by Needham and Arthur from Virginia in 1673, or that by Lederer in 1670. In 1730 ten white men and two Indians went from eastern North Carolina on an exploration westward toward the mountains and was led by Dr. John Brickell. He relates that "after fifteen Days Journey, we arrived at the foot of the mountains, having met with no Human Specie all the way. It seems upon our first arrival we were discovered by a Party of the *Iroquois Indians*, who, as I said before, are very powerful, and continually at war, wandering all over the continent betwixt the two Bays of *Mexico* and *St. Lawrence*. As soon as they had

[13]Lawson's History of Carolina, 1860 reprint, 81-82.

discovered us they disappeared, (as we were afterwards informed) and gave Notice thereof to their King, who sent immediately an Ambasador, or one of his Attendants, painted as red as *Vermillion*, together with a strong Party of his Men, armed with Bows and Arrows.

"When they appeared the second time, the Retinue halted at about half a mile distant from us and the Ambassador attended with one Person, came to the Place where we were (which was in a large *Savanna*Q with a green Bough in his Hand, and gave us to understand that he was sent to us by Order of his King, who desired to know whether we come for Peace or War, or what other Business had buoght us to those Parts; In such like Speeches he accosted us. We assured him by our *Indian* Interpreters, that we were come in a friendly manner, with no other Design than a Curiosity of viewing the Mountains. When we had thus satified him he sat down with us, and dispatched the other Person that attended him, to acquaint the King with the Reasons of our coming.

"During his Absence, we Entertained the Ambasador with *Punch* and made him a Present of some few Toys, which he accepted of, and was highly pleased therewith. About four Hours after the Messenger returned, whom the Ambassador received at a little distance from us, where they discoursed for sometime, and at his return told us, that the Message from the King was, to desire us to make him a Visit, assuring us at the same Time of his Friendship. This Message occasioned several Debates to arise amongst us, concerning the consequence that might attend it; we seemed unwilling to go, which he perceiving, assured us in the Strongest Terms of our safety, and the Sincerity and Friendship of the King. At length, rather than incur his Displeasure (notwithstanding we were determined to sell our Lives at the dearest rate, if we met with any opposition) we complied, and arrived about six O'Clock at the *Indian* Town (attended with the Guards that came with the Ambassador, who marched at some distance from us) and were conducted to the State House, where the King was seated with his *War Captains* and *Counsellors*, who got and placed us next to him; after we had paid our due acknowledge-

ments to him, and made him some Presents, he then began to enquire the Reasons of our coming thither, and among other things, *How his Brother did*, meaning the Governor; and many other such like Speeches passed between us. After we had satisfied him in each particular that he demanded, he bid us welcome, shaking Hands with each of us; assuring us of his Friendship, and the great Regard he had for those of our Nation. The few Presents we gave (which were *Knives, Glass Beads, Punch*, and the like) had made so favorable an Impression in the Breast of his Majesty, and all his *Counsellors*, in our behalf that the King's Orders were issued out immediately, strictly charging all his Subjects to treat us in the most friendly manner, and supply us with whatever we had occasion for during our Pleasure to stay amongst them. After all these Speeches were ended, towards Night we were dismissed, and conducted to one of the King's Houses (being an Apartment prepared for us) where we lay upon Benches, with Skins of Beasts for our Covering; and this was the best Lodging we met with since our departure from the *Christians*. They took particular care of our Horses, and treated us with all the good Nature possibly to be expected from them, supplying us with sufficient quantities of Provision, such as *Venison, Wildfowl, Fish*, and various Kinds of dried *Fruits, Pulse*, and *Water*, no stronger Liquors are to be met with among these People.

"The King's Houses are partley in the Center of the Town, the rest of the Buildings being erected in a confused Order, no regular Streets,, Shops, or even Handycraft Trades, are to be met with amongst them.

"The news of our arrival brought prodigious Numbers of Men and Women to us, as also Boys and Girls, who were stark Naked; these would come and touch our Cloaths, and view us with admiration, having I am satisfied, never had an opportunity to behold anything of this Nature before. The King diverted us every Day with Men and Women Dancing, Shooting with Bows and Arrows, their Warlike Exercise, and several other kinds of Diversions, wherein he imagined we took any Pleasure. Finding ourselves thus in favour with the King, the first request we made was, that we might have leave to see the *Quiogozon*, or *Charnel*

House, which was the largest of that Nature we had ever beheld: He easily complied with our Request, but with a strict Charge, that we should do not hurt, either to the Bones, or any other thing that we should observe there.

"Two Days after our Arrival, we requested the King to have Liberty to depart, in order to view the Mountains, which he seemed very unwilling to comply with, pressing us to continue longer with him, urging many arguments to persuade us; and that we had not as yet sufficiently refreshed ourselves after our late Fatigue. But we assured him that our Governor had given us strict Orders at our Departure, to be as expeditious as possibly we could in our return home. These Considerations at length moved him to a compliance sooner than he intended. But the chief Reason of our departing so soon was, that if we had remained there much longer, we should be deprived of all our *Rum,* which was a great support to us in this long and tedious Journey. The King then offered us a Party of his Men to guard us in the Mountains, least we should be molested by *Indians* that might be Hunting in them, during ur stay there. We most gratefully returned him our due Acknowledgements for this kind offer, and the many he had already conferred upon us, and most humbly beg'd to be excused, which he readily granted us.

"Having thus obtained our Licence of Departure, we made him a Present of a Bottle of *Rum,* in lieu whereof he gave us *Indian Corn, Venison,* and some dried *Fruits,* for our support in the Mountains, where Provisions are scarce. All things being prepared as usual, we set out the next Morning about Six o'Clock, continuing our Journey still *Westward*: The King and his Guards conducted us about half a Mile, wishing us Health, and intreating us at the same time, to make him a Visit at our Return, which we did not, taking a Tour another way.

"About the Evening we approached to the top of one of these Mountains, where we refreshed, being all in perfect Health. Here we had the great difficulty to be supplied with Moss for Provision for our Horses, but after sometime searching, we found what was sufficient for them; then making a great Fire, and our Beds for that Night of the

withered Leaves of the Trees, which we gathered for that Purpose. The next Morning very early having refreshed ourselves, we set forward, and in the Evening got on the other side of the first Ridge of Mountains into a most beautiful Valley, adorned with *Woods, Savannas,* and a very rich soil; here we encamped this Night, being the longest Days Journey we made from our first setting out, by reason that we were destitute of Water in these barren places for our selves and Horses, only what we met with by chance in the hollow parts of the Rocks, which our Horses would hardly drink.

"The next Morning we set forward with a great deal of Chearfulness, having plenty of Water, and all manner of Provisions. In this Days Journey we discovered an *Indian* in the solitary parts of the Woods, but as soon as he espyed us, he fled, notwithstanding we made signs to him to come to us, but in vain, for he quickly vanished out of our sight, that he could not learn what Nation he belonged to, or whether there were any more with him in those Parts. After two Days Journey we arrived at another Ridge of rocky Mountains, with large Trees in Several Places, but little or no Pasture like the former, but much higher, having a beautiful Prospect of large Woods and Forrests as far as our sight would permit. From this Mountain we returned, making our Journey Eastward; meeting with nothing worthy of Observation, but what we have already made mention of, and in thirty two Days, to our great Satisfaction, arrived amongst the *Christians.*"[14]

This expedition went into the mountains of Western North Carolina, probably but not certainly of Buncombe County. The expedition made in 1690 from Charlestown by James Moore through South Carolina "over the Apalathean Mountains for inland discovery and the Indian trade" when he came to a place where "he was informed that the Spaniards were at work upon mines within 20 miles of him,"[15] necessarily penetrated into that part of Western North Carolina near the Little Tennessee River and which afterwards was for years in Buncombe County. Although the points

[14] John Brickell's Natural History of North Carolina, 1737, 387-393.
[15] 1 Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1857, 209.

which these various expeditions came to cannot be completely identified now, it unmistakably is shown by them that explorations were being carried on by English colonists into Western North Carolina prior to 1700. From these tours much information in regard to that region must have been obtained by English settlers in more eastern portions of the North Carolina territory in the latter part of the eighteenth century and years before white settlements were begun in what is now Western North Carolina, and that region is or has been in Buncombe County.

Although, because release by the Cherokees of the territory now in Western North Carolina on the Little Tennessee and to the west thereof, was not obtained until years after the settlement of the present Buncombe County, the latter as a place of white population long preceded the occupation by white people of the lands on the Little Tennessee River and beyond to the southwestern extremity of the modern North Carolina, and thus these more western parts of the State are younger than the later Buncombe, the white acquaintance with this western country was, in fact, much earlier than the acquaintance of the white men with this eastern region. South Carolina's first trade with the Cherokees passed down the Little Tennessee until near Franklin it crossed the Nantahala Mountains and went down Valley River. In 1690 Cornelius Dougherty, an Irish trader from Virginia, went to live with these Indians in this region, and Sir Alexander Cuming made his famout tour there in 1730, and Colonel A. Montgomery invaded that land in 1760 and Colonel Grant invaded it in 1761. But it was not until 1776 that General G. Rutherford marched down Swannanoa River and thus caused the first extended knowledge of the whites respecting the present Buncombe.

When, at the conclusion of the French and Indian war in the Treaty of Paris, February, 1763, Great Britain was conceded to own the country in North America on the Atlantic shore, its western boundary was to be the middle of the Mississippi River as far down as the vicinity of New Orleans. This, of course, changed the provisions of grants which made this western boundary the "South Seas" (Pacific Ocean). Yet when at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, North

Carolina asserted her independence and adopted her first constitution, December 18, 1776, and her "Declaration of Rights," December 17, 1776,[16] she declared in the latter, section 25, page 10 that her territory extended westward "so far as is mentioned in the charter of King Charles the Second, to the late proprietors of Carolina." Plainly she afterwards quietly recognized the middle of the Mississippi River as her western boundry. In speaking of Macon County, North Carolina, Colonel A. T. Davidson remarks: "One state of facts, however, I must relate, and that is connected with Samuel Smith, father of Bacchus Smith and Rev. C. D. Smith. He volunteered, as a messenger to bear a letter from Gen. McDowell, at the Old Fort, to the principal chief of the Cherokees, at the Coosawattee towns about the close of the Revolution. The undertaking of such a service was full of peril and danger, the whole country west of the Blue Ridge being in the Cherokee nation, which was then in arms. This journey was made before any white man lived in this country. The Coosawattee towns being on a river of that name in the State of Georgia, the distance being at least 250 miles. This was undertaken by this valiant man and was accomplished, and largely aided in bringing these people to peaceable and quiet terms with the whites. He moved to Texas, after having raised a family in North Carolina of distinguished sons, and died in that State only a few years ago, more than ninety years old."[17] This Samuel Smith settled and lived for years at the southern foot of Drymon's Mountain immediately north of the western part of the present City of Asheville. Later he removed to Macon County, North Carolina, where he lived at Smith's Bridge on the Little Tennessee River some miles from the town of Franklin. At the close of that war North Carolina was admitted by the British sovereign to be a "free sovereign and independent State." This was by the Treaty of Paris, September 3, 1783.[18]

In 1790 North Carolina ceded to the United States as a free gift all that territory which is now the State of Ten-

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[16]Revised Code of North Carolina, 1855, 8-19.
[17]Reminiscences of Western North Carolina in the Lyceum, January, 1891, 12.
[18]2 North Carolina Revised Statutes, 1837, 31-35.

nessee.[19] This extended westward only as to the "right, title and claim which this State has to the sovereignty and territory of the lands situate within the chartered limits of this State" west of the division line now between North Carolina and Tennessee as finally located. When the Revolutionary war was in progress the Cherokees, without provocation, in 1776 invaded North Carolina settlements and committed there great and numerous depredations. In consequence North Carolina, in 1776, invaded the Cherokee country and subdued the Cherokees. After the expeditions, principally under General Griffith Rutherford, had accomplished this subjugation, with the aid of others, she had an understanding with chiefs of the Cherokee Middle Towns that as soon as she was able to obtain the goods necessary for the purpose she would purchase from the Cherokees a relinquishment of the territory, or part of it, which now constitutes North Carolina southwest of the Blue Ridge and, with a small addition recently acquired and lying east of that ridge, embracing all the area which is, and all the area which at any time has been, Buncombe County. In 1783 she opened to entry and grant so much of this land as lay east of Big Pigeon River and an extension from the heads of that river to her southern border.[20] This she had a right to do, not only because of said understanding, but also because she had conquered that territory and the Cherokee claimants thereof in a war which the Cherokees had commenced against her without provocation, by invading her settlements and therein committing murder and devastation. Under that statute the white settlements in what afterwards was made originally Buncombe Couny commenced, a year or two after its enactment and on the lands so by it thrown open. First white men began to hunt in that region. Then determined to settle there.

In the latter part of 1784, Samuel Davidson, a brother of the John Davidson whom the Cherokees had murdered with his wife and children in July 1776 near Old Fort, came with his wife and infant daughter and a female servant across the Blue Ridge from Catawba River to Swannanoa River

[19]Ibid., 171, 174.
[20]24 State Records of North Carolina, 1905, 479; Iredell's North Carolina Revisal, 1791, 446.

and settled at the foot of Jones Mountain on Christian Creek, a tributary of Swannanoa and built his cabin there. He remained there for a few days. At that time the woods were full of wild peavine and the meadows of cane. Both furnished excellent food for horses and cattle. People fed neither kind of animals but turned them out at night to gather abundant food of kinds particularly nutritious and attractive to those animals. Samuel Davidson turned out his horse at night to feed and, in order to insure finding it readily when wanted in the morning, he, following a common custom, placed a bell around the horse's neck. One morning he heard the bell in the direction of Jones Mountain and up the mountain. Supposing it to be his horse, he followed the sound in the imperfect morning light until he reached the Indian trail which ran along the mountain crest. A party of Cherokees had detached the bell from the horse's neck and lured the settler to the mountain top where others of the party lay in amush. As Davidson reached the trail he was shot and killed by the hidden Indians. His wife heard the shots. Knowing that she could render no assistance to him, and taking her little girl with her, she and the negro woman went, by different ways, through the mountains to Old Fort, a journey of fourteen or fifteen miles among trees and bush and rocks. When she reached that place her friends and relatives received her with every kindness. They at once organized a party to avenge the murder. Finding Samuel Davidson's body lying where he had fallen, they buried him there in a shallow grave which they hastily prepared. They knew the habits of the Cherokees and felt sure that the murderers were a hunting party of those Indians encamped not far away. About a mile further to the west they discovered that party near the mouth of Christian Creek and drove its members into the recesses of the mountains on the south, killing some and dispersing the band. Such was the fate of Samuel Davidson, the first white settler in the present North Carolina southwest of the Blue Ridge.

A very few months later a body of relatives and friends of Samuel Davidson came from the Catawba River settle-

ments and crossed the Blue Ridge to the Swannanoa River and formed a colony around the mouth of Bee Tree Creek, a tributary of the Swannanoa, two or three miles from Samuel Davidson's grave. This colony became known in history as the *"Swannanoa Settlements."* It was the first settlement of white people in what is now North Carolina Southwest of the Blue Ridge. Among these colonists were Major William Davidson, a twin brother of Samuel Davidson, and their sister Rachel Alexander, with their families and other relatives. These kinsmen cared for the grave of Samuel Davidson while they lived and when the older of them had died or removed, Major William Davidson's son, Colonel Samuel W. Davidson, who was a small child when the settlement began, continued throughout his life to care for the last resting place of his worthy uncle. The letters "S. D." were cut in a pine tree which stood at the head of the grave. Colonel Samuel W. Davidson died in 1858. On September 25, 1913 some kindred of the first settler erected a granite monument at the head of the grave and on the monument placed an inscription: *"Here Lies Samuel Davidson First White Settler of Western North Carolina Killed Here By The Cherokees,* 1784."[21]

These first settlers were Scotch Irish. Soon others joined until before long settlements were formed down the Swannanoa River to the French Broad River and further down on the latter stream and on Reems Creek and on Hominy Creek. Some of these additional settlers came from the Catawba River and Broad River in North Carolina, some came from the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, and some came from the Watauga Settlement in what is now Eastern Tennessee on Watauga, Holston, and Nollichucky Rivers, the last crossing the Appalachian Mountain by way of Bald Mountain prior to 1790.

Apparently it was but a short time after the murder of Samuel Davidson by the Cherokees that the fight between those Indians and white men occurred which is the subject of a tradition received by the late John S. Rice from three old Indian fighters, John Rice, David Nelson and Wil-

[21]Sondley's Samuel Davidson, 1913; Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 59-60; Sondley's Alexander-Davidson Reunion Address, August 26, 1911, 21.22.

liam Rhodes. This tradition is to the effect that at a time prior to white settlement of the lower Swannanoa Valley, some Cherokees were returning from depredations on the whites and being pursued by the latter, were overtaken at about the Cheesborough Place, a mile above Biltmore, when a fight took place between the two parties and continued at the canebrakes there at intervals for eleven days, in which many Indians were killed, principally near the ford of Swannanoa River in the neighborhood of the old Colonel John Patton House, later known as the "Haunted House," where the old Buncombe Turnpike crossed the stream, until the Indians retreated across the French Broad, and the fight ended. They crossed the last named river at a shoal just below the mouth of Swannanoa. During most of the fight the whites encamped at a noted spring just north of Swannanoa River about one hundred yards above the Biltmore concrete bridge and directly opposite the mouth of Sweeten's Creek. It was an old Indian camping place.[22]

The Cherokees were very troublesome to the early white settlers of the region now Buncombe County. When the men of these settlers were away from home parties of Cherokees would come and frighten the women and children, take their provisions, open the ticks of their feather-beds and empty the contents over the house, and collect the household furniture in the yard and burn it. One day when a party of these Indians had committed such depredations at a settler's home and had just gone away along the path singing and shouting and dancing, the settler unexpectedly returned. As he approached his home he saw that a large smoke was boiling up from the vicinity of his home and he heard the Indians comnig along the path. He readily comprehended the situation. Hiding near the path as the Indians passed he shot one of them. The other Indians carried off their comrade who had thus been shot and the settler never knew whether he had killed or only wounded his Indian.[23]

The settlers were compelled to erect blockhouses and keep out sentinels. On September 27, 1793 "Indians were seen at Warm Springs, and at the plantation of Charles Robertson on Meadow Creek, probably watching the motions of the

[22]Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 60-61.
[23]Sondley's Alexander-Davidson Reunion Address, August 26, 1911, 28-29.

guard who were stationed for the protection of the frontier on French Broad. These guards were stationed in four blockhouses—at Hough's, at the Burnt Canebrake, at the Painted Rock and at the Warm Springs, and scouted regularly between the blockhouses, and up to Big Laurel, where they met the Buncombe scout."[24] An old log residence which until late years stood on the eastern side of the Old Buncombe Turnpike about two miles north of Asheville and known as the "Clement's" or "Zebulon Baird House" had loop-holes in the second story.

A small party of Cherokees set out from the more western parts of North Carolina in the summer of 1793, to attack the white settlements on Swannanoa River; but the attack was averted by chance. Simultaneously, without concert with the North Carolinians, Colonel Doherty and Colonel McFarland led an invasion from East Tennessee of a part of the Cherokee country which had escaped incursions by the whites. With one hundred and eighty mounted riflemen they entered the mountains at Unaka Pass and turned eastwardly, destroying six Cherokee towns and killing fifteen Indians and taking captives sixteen Indian women and children. Returning another way they escaped an Indian ambuscade. This was contrary to the orders of the Tennessee territorial government; but it prevented the attack on the Swannanoa Settlements and probable destruction of the village of Asheville, then Morristown.[25] John Burton, the founder of Asheville, built on Glenn's Creek near its mouth, about two miles north of Asheville, the first grist mill west of the Blue Ridge. The miller, one Handlen, went across French Broad River to look after a crop which he had planted there and was murdered by the Indians.[26]

North Carolina, having an understanding with the Cherokee claimants to purchase a release of certain lands west of the Blue Ridge in consequence of which understanding she had in 1783 thrown open some of those lands to entry and grant, obtained the goods required to comply with this understanding and arranged to meet the Cherokee chiefs for

[24]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 569-570; Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 58-59.
[25]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 578-579; Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 91.
[26]Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 143.

this purpose. Under the Articles of Confederation, then in force, a State was to deal with the Indians in its borders and the general government with other Indians. The general government professed to wish to treat with several Indian tribes and among them the Cherokee, some of whom were not in North Carolina. The latter consented to hold her treaty at the same time and place as the former held their treaties. The place selected was Hopewell in northern South Carolina. At that place North Carolina's representative duly attended with her goods. The general government's representatives were allowed to proceed first with their treaty with the Cherokees. They entered into a treaty which intentionally violated North Carolina's agreement and persuaded the Cherokees to do the same, although it was known to all that much of the land involved in that agreement was now occupied by grantees from North Carolina and that State had gone to much expense in preparation to carry out her agreement. This treaty falsley asserted powers in the general government which belonged exclusively to the States. It invited the Indians to drive off settlers assumed to be trespassers and undoubtedly incited many Indians massacres. It was dated November 28, 1785 and is known as the Treaty of Hopewell. One of the complaints urged by an Indian, "Musuchanail of New Cusse" (Nequassee) was expressly directed to the settlements "on Pigeon River and Swanano."[27] Probably the numerous untruths of these commissioners of the general government were pernicious and unblushing in excess of any precedent then in existence. Later attempts of the North Carolina authorities to induce the Cherokees to accept the goods to which they were entitled and execute the proposed treaty with the State failed through the machinations of United States officials. On December 1, 1788 North Carolina appointed John Steele as commissioner to treat with the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickamaugas;[28] and on the 4th of the same month directed him "to hold the said Treaty at the War Ford on the French Broad River (where General

[27]17 State Records of North Carolina, 1903, 566-567, 578, 579, 580, 582-586; 24 Ibid., 1905, 479, 338, 419-422, 483, 485, 566-568, 540; 2 Stevens's History of Georgia, 1859, 417, 418, 429; 2 Kappler's Indian Affairs, 8-11; 18 State Records of North Carolina 554-555, 463-464, 493-495, 111, 525, 553; 20 Ibid., 402-406.
[28]21 State Records of North Carolina, 1903, 127, 111, 507, 639, 544, 547, 569.

Rutherford crossed with his army in 1776) between "May 20 and 31, 1789."[29] This land as far as Tennessee River was to be released. He met the Indians at the War Ford. Through procurement of United States authorities the Indians refused to treat; and Steele carried away the goods provided by North Carolina for the treaty.[30]

About 1781 Cherokee Indians perpetrated outrages against the white people in what is now Tennessee. Colonel John Sevier concluded that these Indians came from towns in the mountain gorges of the present Western North Carolina where the white troops had never gone. He collected a body of his followers from the Greasy Cove of one hundred and thirty men in March of that year, and, under the guidance of an old Indian trader named Isaac Thomas, he proceeded toward the Middle Towns of the Cherokees, passing up Cane Creek and crossing Ivy and Swannanoa Rivers, through mountains so steep that they were compelled to lead their horses. Taking by surprise the town of Tuckaseegee on Tuckaseegee River, a tributary of Little Tennessee River, he killed fifty warriors and captured fifty women and children and burned fifteen or twenty Indian towns and all the granaries of corn which he could find. The campaign lasted twenty-nine days in a country which none of the invaders had ever penetrated and few traders had ever visited.[31] This indicates the conditions under which settlements in Western North Carolina were effected a few years later.

About April 20, 1789 there was had at Coosawatee in Georgia an exchange of prisoners between Indians and white people which had been arranged to take place "at Swannanoa, as at first proposed."[32]

There is a tradition of yet another expedition under the conduct of Colonel John Sevier which passed up French Broad River to the mouth of Newfound Creek, now in Buncombe County and up that creek and on west against North Carolina Cherokees and returned down the Hominy valley. This may have been the same, however, as that of 1781.[33]

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[29]Ibid., 544-545, 138, 140, 163; 20 Ibid., 582-583, 562.
[30]21 State Records of North Carolina, 1903, 495-496, 500, 501, 709, 711, 490, 502, 500, 569, 528, 640, 544; 22 Ibid., 1907, 722.
[31]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 268-269.
[32]Ibid., 515.
[33]Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 59.

Late in 1783 an Indian irruption was made into what has become Cocke County, Tennessee. "Major Peter Fine raised a few men and pursued them. After killing one Indian and wounding another, and regaining the stolen property, they began their return and encamped. They were fired upon in the night by the savages, who had followed their tracks. Vinet Fine, a brother of the major was killed, and Thomas Holland and Mr. Bingham were wounded. After the departure of the Indians, who hung around the camp till morning, the white men broke a hole in the ice and put the body of V. Fine in the creek, which has ever since been called Fine's Creek."[34] Well-attested North Carolina tradition says that the fight in which the Indian was killed was on Richland creek about one-half mile below Waynesville, and that the commander of the whites was Captain Edmund Sams, afterwards Buncombe County's first comer and a trustee of Newton Academy. Ramsey adds to the above statement of the killing of Vinet Fine, "It continued to be necessary for two years, to keep out scouts between Pigeon and French Broad. In this time Jeremiah and Simeon Odell were killed, scalped and their guns taken. A boy ten years old, named Nelson, was killed and his horse taken seven miles up Pigeon. McCoy's Fort was built on French Broad, three miles above New Port; Whitson's on Pigeon, ten miles above New Port, where McNabb since lived; Wood's five miles below. These were all guarded several years."[35] From this will be seen the hostility of the Cherokees to the white people at the time when Samuel Davidson was killed by some of those Indians and the time when the Swannanoa Settlement, the first white settlement in Western North Carolina, was made. It was probably at that time that Reems, for whom Reems Creek in Buncombe County was named, was killed by Cherokees in the immediate neighborhood of the present Weaverville. That the above named Fine's Creek was originally Crystal Creek. See Colonel A. T. Davidson's Reminiscences of Western North Carolina in the Lyceum, January, 1891, 10.

In the summer of 1781 "a party of Cherokees invaded the

[34]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 278-279.
[35]Ibid., 279.

settlements then forming on Indian Creek. Colonel Sevier again raised troops to drive them off. With about one hundred men he marched from Washington County, crossed Nollichucky, and proceeded south of that river to what has since been known as the War Ford" (Old Newport) near the present town of New Port. Crossing French Broad at that place, and also Big Pigeon at the War Ford, he fell unexpectedly upon the trail of the Indians, surrounded their camp, and by a sudden fire killed seventeen of them. The rest fled and escaped.[37] The commander of the whites in this exploit was the same Captain Edmund Sams just mentioned and it was a bullet from his rifle which slew Bates, the renegade white leader of the Indian marauders.

There is an old tradition that the central portion of the city of Asheville is on the land where was fought a great battle between two Indian tribes. This must have been the fight between the Cherokees and the Shawanoes who had a town at the mouth of Swannanoa River, before the white settlers came. These Shawanoes seem to have been driven out by the Cherokees at some time between 1735 and 1750. The white people knew the name of their town of Swannanoa in 1776 and the report of the committee which determined the site of the county town of Buncombe County, (later Asheville) in 1793 indicated the place so selected for that purpose by them as "not exceeding or extending more North than the Indian graves."[38] There were also Indian graves on the property now called Oakhurst.[39] These two sets of Indian graves were about 1793 fresh enough to be known to the white settlers recently arrived as being burying-places of Indians and must have been those of Indians killed in that fight traditions of which were communicated to the new settlers.

The new country across the Blue Ridge to which these settlers removed was a land of mountains, hills, and rapid streams of clear water. It lay between mountains surrounding it on every side and was thus a vast and elevated plateau or tableland too rugged to be called a plain. These mountains were the Appalachian Mountains or Alleghany Moun-

[37]Ibid., 269.
[38]Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 36, 71, 72.
[39]Buncombe County Register's Book of Deeds, B, 40.

tains, of which the Blue Ridge is the eastern portion. This Appalachian system extends southwestwardly from Nova Scotia to Alabama and is sometimes sixty or seventy-five miles broad. In North Carolina where the widest part of this table-land lies the streams take their rise in the lower Blue Ridge on the east and flow westward through the plateau until they make their exit on the west through higher mountains than those in which they rise and then pass onward to the Mississippi River. The Blue Ridge is a granite formation while the higher ridges on the west are partly, on the western side, of limestone formation which readily wears away under the influence of water. The name of Appalachian Mountains or Appalaches is said to have been given to them by the French in Florida under Rene Laudoniere, "who first became acquainted with them at their southern extremity, from the Indian name of the river which flows into the Gulf of Mexico at Appalache Bay; but the English who visited those mountains principally in their northern parts, preserved the Indian name there given of Alleghanies, supposed to mean *Endless.*" The Appalachian Indians lived in Florida, far south of these mountains, and, no doubt, it was from their accounts that the French first learned of this mountain range. On the other hand the Alleghanies were a geographical group of Indians, composed of Delawares and Shawanees, living on Alleghany River in Pennsylvania and New York.[40] Of these mountains it is said that there are in Buncombe County fifteen peaks more than a mile high, of which Potato Knob, the highest has an altitude of 6,419 feet. The original Buncombe County contained many more of these high peaks, of which Mitchell's Peak, now in Yancey County, is the highest mountain in the United States east of the Mississippi River.

The most prominent of the Western North Carolina mountains is Pisgah, partly in Buncombe County. It is rendered more prominent by the shape of Little Pisgah next to it on the south and presenting a striking resemblance to a "Rat" or a squirrel in its outline. By whom the name of Pisgah was given to the mountain of North Carolina so

[40]Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 42-43; 1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1907, 67-68, 45; 1 Nelson's Encyclopaedia, 1907, 296.

called or when that designation was suggested first, seems to be unknown. It is probable, as suggested by Mr. Robert Gash, that the name was bestowed about the beginning of the nineteenth century by George Newton, a Presbyterian preacher and schoolmaster who then resided and taught at the Newton Academy, now in Asheville. No doubt the name was derived from the mountain of the same name east of the Dead Sea from which Moses is said to have seen "the Promised Land," and was given to the North Carolina peak because of its extensive outlook. Under the constitution of North Carolina as that constitution existed prior to 1868 no one could be a member of the Senate of that State unless he owned real estate to the amount of at least three hundred acres in fee in the county (later "district which he represented") for one year prior to and at the time of his election.[41] When Honorable Thomas L Clingman wished to represent Buncombe County in the North Carolina Senate and owned no land, he was given by Honorable George W. Candler three hundred acres on and around the top of Pisgah in order for such qualification and continued to own that land until a short time before his death when he sold it to George W. Vanderbilt.

Apparently the first public mention of the mountain by the name Pisgah was in 1808 when Haywood County was cut off from Buncombe County. In the act creating the county of Haywood and describing the line which separated what was so taken from the territory which remained to Buncombe County there is a call for a line along "the ridge dividing the waters of Pigeon and the French Broad River, to the top of Mount Pisgah."[42] Obviously the name of Pisgah for that mountain was then well known to the people generally.

Busby mountain was named for an old hunter and Indian fighter who at an early day resided on that mountain. Bearwallow, Bald Top, Sugar Loaf, Pilot, and Point Lookout, mountains in the Hickorynut Gap region, are said to have been so respectively named by William Mills.[43]

Craggy mountain got its name from its rugged top. The

[41] 1 Laws of North Carolina, 1821, p. 46, s. 5; Revised Code of North Carolina.
[42] 2 Laws of North Carolina, 1821, c. 737, p. 1127.
[43] Bennett's Chronology of North Carolina, 1858, 25.

name was given at an early day but by whom seems to have been forgotten. Black mountain plainly got its name from the time when it first became known to white men and is so called by very early travellers, the dark effect of the spruce and fir evergreens with which the higher parts of the mountains were densely covered making the name appropriate. No one knows who first so called it. The origin of the name of Blue Ridge is equally ancient, obvious and unknown as to exact time or author. To one who approaches this ridge from the level country to the east the mountain when first it comes into view wears a blue aspect, which accounts for its name.

"'This distance lends enchantment to the view,
And robes the mountain in its azure hue."

Lane's Pinnacle got its name from its owner, Charles Lane, who, about the first quarter of the nineteenth century, conducted an iron forge on Reems Creek where is now Lake Louise, formerly Lake Juanita, digging much of the ore used by him from the Mine Hole Gap which gave its name to that place. He also obtained ore from Beaverdam, Reems Creek, Lane's Pinnacle, and other localities in Buncombe County. He was an uncle of General Joseph Lane, first governor of Oregon and candidate for vice-president of the United States in 1860, who was born on Beaverdam about four miles north of Asheville.

Mr. James W. Patton owned Beaucatcher Mountain, east of Asheville. About 1850 he erected on that elevation a summer-house or arbor as a place of resort. Several young couples did their courting in visiting that resort. Thus the peak got its name. The late Judge A. C. Avery, once a member of the North Carolina Supreme Court, related that it was on a visit to this summer-house on Beaucatcher that he became engaged to his first wife, a Miss Morrison, who was a sister of Mrs. General Stonewall Jackson and of Mrs. General D. H. Hill. During the War on the South this peak was fortified for the protection of Asheville. After that war Mr. William Hazard built at the top a residence which he named Beaumont. Before elks disappeared from this mountain region they had a wallowing-place on the southern side of the mountain north of Beaverdam Creek. On that ac-

count the mountain came to be called the "Elk Wallow," and then "Elk Mountain." In the seventies of the nineteenth century a cheese factory on this mountain prospered for a time but was discontinued about 1875. The last two elks seen in North Carolina were killed at about the same time, one by Colonel William Davenport in what is Mitchell County and the other by Mr. William Mills in Buncombe County on Six Mile Branch about six miles south of Asheville.

Gooch's Peak, or Gouge Mountain, was named, in the early part of the last century, for its owner, Ganos Gooch.

In 1767 Colonel William Tryon, royal governor of North Carolina, caused to be run and marked a line between the lands of the white settlers and the hunting-grounds of the Cherokees, extending from Reedy River at a point some miles south of the present City of Greenville, South Carolina, northward fifty-three miles to a Spanish oak on what is now Tryon Mountain. This line now, for the greater part of its length, divides the present South Carolina counties of Greenville and Spartanburg and crosses the North Carolina border less than a mile east of the North Carolina town of Tryon. Colonel Tryon himself attended and directed the early part of this survey and the one of the "White Oak Mountains" on which it ended was called "Tryon" for him and bears his name. It gave its name to the "Town of Tryon."[41]

Potato Top, Buncombe's highest peak, owes its name to the resemblance presented by the top of the mountain to a growing bunch of Irish potatoes. The name of Cold Mountain "was applied on account of this occurrence. Several hunters were on the top of the mountain when it was covered by a thick sleet. The heels of one of them, to use a skater's phrase, 'flew up,' causing him to sit down very suddenly. Instead, however, of his remaining quietly thus at rest, the merciless action of the force of gravity, conspiring with the inclination of the ground, caused him to slide rapidly for a couple of hundred yards down the mountain side. When finally he did bring up in a bank of snow, he was decidedly of the opinion that this mountain was the coldest one he had ever soon. In fact, when afterwards questioned

[41]Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 42-46.

if he was not very cold, he said: 'Yes, as cold as Cicero in his coldest moment.' He had doubtless heard some local orator pronounced 'as eloquent as Cicero,' and thus concluded that the old Roman was a man of superlatives generally. Since that day the peak has rejoiced in the name of Cold Mountain."[45] Of course, the cold hunter meant to say: "Cold as zero."

Mitchell's Peak, the highest east of the Mississippi River, got its name from Dr. Elisha Mitchell, who was claimed to have first measured it in 1844. It has been the subject of two sharp disputes; one as to whether Dr. Mitchell measured it before Hon. T. L. Clingman measured it in 1855, and the other as to whether or not it is higher than some peak of the Smoky Mountains.[46]

The Cherokee names respectively for several mountains in the Buncombe region are: Warwasseeta for Pisgah Ridge or Range; Elseetoss for Pisgah Mountain; Sokassa for Shaking Bald Mountain; Salola for Sugar Loaf Mountain; Sunnalee for Craggy Mountain; Seencyahs for Black Mountain; Osteenoa for Cold mountain; Judy Kulias for Balsam mountains; Cheseetoahs for Smoky mountains; and Chewassee for Newfound mountains.[47] They called the Smoky Mountains also Unakas (White).

Charles Lanman, whom Washington Irving called "the picturesque explorer of the United States," was born in Monroe, Michigan, June 4, 1819. Traveller, librarian, painter, author, biographer, and editor, he was prominent in all these other lines of occupation for many years with his residence principally in Washington City. There for some while he was employed in the service of the United States government and as private secretary of United States Senator Daniel Webster.

In 1848 Charles Lanman made an extensive tour through the mountain portions of Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia. From places visited by him in that tour he wrote a series of letters descriptive of the history, traditions and natural features of the country through which he went.

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[45]T. L. Clingman' Speeches and Writings, 1877, 134-135.
[47]Ibid., 46.
[46]Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 157-185.

These letters were published in the National Intelligencer, a Washington newspaper, and in 1849 republished in a volume entitled Letters from the Alleghany Mountains and later, a little changed, embodied in his work of two volumes which appeared in 1856 and 1859 called Adventures in the Wilds of the United States and Canada.

While stopping at Asheville, North Carolina, he visited the Black Mountain in May 1848. On that visit he heard from members of his party a number of legends some of which he narrates in his letters mentioned. These narratives are as follows:

"Of the hundred and one that were related only two were at all connected with the Black Mountain, but as these were Indian legends, and gathered from different sources, by the gentlemen present, I will preserve them in this letter for the edification of those interested in such matters.

"On the north side of Black Mountain there was once a cave, where all the animals in the world were closely confined, and before that time they had never been known to roam the mountains as they do now. All these animals were in the keeping of an old Cherokee chief. This man, who had a mischievous son, often came home with a fine bear or deer, but would never tell his son or any other person where he found so much valuable game. The son did not like this, and on one occasion when his father went out after food he hid himself among the trees, and watched his movements. He saw the old man go to the cave, already mentioned, and as he pushed away a big stone, out ran a fine buck, which he killed with an arrow, and then rolled back the stone. When the old man was gone home with his deer the boy went to the cave, and thought that he would try his luck in killing game. He rolled away the stone, when out jumped a wolf, which so frightened him that he forgot to replace the stone, and before he knew what he was about, all the animals made their escape, and were fleeing down the mountain in every possible direction. They made a dreadful noise for a while, but finally came together in pairs, and so have continued to multiply down to the present time. When the father found out what the foolishness of his son had accomplished, he became very unhappy, and

in less than a week he disappeared, and was never heard of again. The boy also became very unhappy, and spent many days in trying to find his father, but it was all in vain. As a last resort he tried an old Indian experiment which consisted in shooting arrows, to find out in which direction the old man had gone. The boy fired an arrow towards the north, but it returned and fell at his feet, and he knew that his father had not travelled in that direction. He also fired one toward the east and the south and the west, but they all came back in the same manner. He then thought he would fire one directly above his head, and it so happened that the arrow never returned, and so the boy knew that his father had gone to the spirit land. The Great Spirit was angry with the Cherokee nation, and to punish it for the offence of the foolish boy he tore away the cave from the side of the Black Mountain, and left only a large cliff in its place, which is now a conspicuous feature, and he then declared that the time would come when another race of men should possess the mountains where the Cherokees had flourished for many generations.

"Another legend was as follows: Once in the olden times, when the animals of the earth had the power of speech, a red deer and a terrapin met on the Black Mountain. The deer ridiculed the terrapin, boasted of his own fleetness, and proposed that the twain should run a race. The creeping animal assented to the proposition. The race was to extend from the Black Mountain to the summit of the third pinnacle extending to the eastward. The way was then fixed, and the animals separated. During the intervening time the cunning terrapin secured the services of three of its fellows resembling itself in appearance, and having given then particular directions, stationed them upon the several peaks over which the race was to take place. The appointed day arrived, and the deer as well as the first mentioned terrapin, were faithfully on the ground. All things being ready, the word was given, and away started the deer at a breakneck speed. Just as he reached the summit of the first hill he heard the shout of a terrapin, and as he supposed it to be his antagonist, he was greatly perplexed, but continued on his course. On reaching the top of the second hill, he

heard another shout of defiance, and was more astonished than ever, but onward still did he continue. Just before reaching the summit of the third hill, the deer heard what he supposed to be the same shout, and he gave up the race in despair. On returning to the starting place, he found his antagonist in a calm and collected mood, and when he demanded an explanation, the terrapin solved the mystery, and then begged the deer to remember that mind could sometimes accomplish what was often beyond the reach of the swiftest legs."[48]

The foregoing legend in regard to wild animals being confined in a cave is said to be very widely circulated among different Indian tribes who apply it to many different localities, with variations.[49] The foregoing legend in regard to the race between a deer (sometimes a rabbit) and a terrapin is also widely diffused and variously applied.[50]

In the Lanman version of the latter the "red" deer should read "Virginia" deer, the "red" deer not being an American animal.

The largest rivers in Buncombe County are the French Broad, the Swannanoa and, east of the Blue Ridge, the Broad. The name of the last stream was given by its early white discoverers who saw it in upper South Carolina where its width warrants the application. The Indian name is said to be Esseedaw. The French Broad rises in Western North Carolina and near the South Carolina northern border and in the Blue Ridge. Its course is a bow bent with its convex part to the north.

Several Indian names are said to have been used for French Broad River. Among these may be mentioned Poe-li-co, Tocheste Agiqua, Tocheeostee, Zillicoah, Untakiyastiyi, Zeelleeka and Esseewah; but often an Indian name applied to a part of a river only and this was the case with the French Broad.

"The original Indian name of the French Broad was Poe-li-co, the meaning of which I have not been able to ascertain. Its English name was derived from a famous hunter named *French*. It is one of the principal tributaries

[48]Letters from the Alleghany Mountains, 1849, 135-138.
[49]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 242-243, 431-432.
[50]Ibid., 450, 270.

of the Tennessee, about one hundred miles long, from one to two hundred yards wide, and, taking its rise in the Blue Ridge near the border of South Carolina, runs in a northwestern direction. Judging of the whole, by a section of fifty miles, lying westward of Asheville, it must be considered one of the most beautiful rivers in this beautiful land. In running the distance above mentioned it has a fall of nearly fifteen hundred feet, and its bed seems to be entirely composed of solid rock. In depth it varies from five to fiteen feet, and, generally speaking, is quite clear, abounding in a great variety of Plebeian fish. Its shores are particularly wild and rocky, for the most part nearly penpendicular, varying from one to four hundred feet in height, and, though usually covered with vegetation, they present frequent cliffs of granite, freestone, and blue limestone, which actually droop over the rushing waters and present a most imposing appearance. With regard to its botanical curiosities, it can safely be said that a more fruitful and interesting valley can no where be found in the Union. Here we have not only every variety of American forest trees, but bushes, plants, flowers and vines in the greatest profusion, and of the most vigorous growth; many of the grape vines which weigh down the mighty sycamore, seem to be long enough, and strong enough, to link together a hundred ships of war. When it is remembered, too, that the air is constantly heavy with the fragrance of flowers, and tremulous with the perpetual roar of the stream, it may be readily imagined that a ride down the French Broad is a unique pleasure. Back of the river on either side the country is hilly and somewhat cultivated, but its immediate valley contains nothing that smacks of civilization but a turnpike road, and an occasional tavern. This road runs directly along the water's edge nearly the entire distance, and, on account of the quantity of travel which passes over it, is kept in admirable repair. It is the principal thoroughfare between Tennessee and South Carolina, and an immense number of cattle, horses, and hogs are annually driven over it to the seaboard markets. Over this road also quite a large amount of merchandise is constantly transported for the merchants of the interior, so that mammoth wagons, with their eight and ten

horses, and their half-civilized teamsters, are as plenty as blackberries, and afford a romantic variety to the stranger."[51] The "famous hunter named French" seems to be a myth.

"The river was called, in the Indian, Tocheste, or Racer," says H. E. Colton.[52] This statement is not quite accurate.

"The French Broad, throughout its whole length, was the Agiqua, and received, on its northern bank, the Swannoah an the Nonachunkeh (now Nollichucky)."[53] This too is not quite accurate in regard to the name of the river "throughout its whole length."

"It was a species of vandalism to substitute French Broad for Agiqua and Tocheeostee, the former being the name applied by the Erati, or 'over the mountain Cherokees, to the lower valley, and the latter by the Ottari, or 'valley towns,' to the upper or North Carolina section below Asheville. 'Racing River' is a literal translation of the term Tocheeostee. Above Asheville, where the stream is placid and winds snake-like through the wide alluvious valleys, it took the name Zillicoah."[54] These assertions are put forth with more confidence than correctness. "People's Map (1733) gives a village 'Satere' on the waters of the French Broad, seemingly, and the French Broad is given the name of 'Satica.' "[55]

The T. Kitchen Map of "Louisiana," 1765, and the "American Military Pocket Atlas," 1776, give the name of the French Broad River as "Agiqua," the latter making it run into the "Kallamuckee or Holston R." Superior to all these as an authority on Cherokee names is James Mooney. He says: "Untakingastiyi—'Where they race,' from *takiyata*, a race, and yi, locative; locally corrupted to Tahkeyostee. The district on the French Broad river, around Asheville, in Buncombe Count, North Carolina."[56]

"*French Broad river*: A magazine writer states that the Indians called this stream 'the racing river.' This is only

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[51]Lamond's Letters from the Alleghany Mountains, 1849, 122-123; 1 Lamond's Adventures in the Wilds of America, 1856, 431-432: 1 William Gilmore Simm's Poetical Works, 1853, 324. "The Syren of Tselico a Tradition of the French Broad."
[52]Mountain Scenery, 1859, 75.
[53]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 87.
[54]W. G. Zeigler and B. S. Grosscup in Heart of the Alleghanies, 1883, 18.
[55]S. C. Williams's Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1928, p. 26 note 3.
[56]Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 543-406.

partially correct. The Cherokees have no name for the river as a whole, but the district through which it flows about Asheville is called by them Untakiyastiyi, 'Where they race.'" (Ibid).

The designation of the river as French Broad indicates that it has considerable breadth and that the French were deemed to have some connection with it. This stream is broad in the Tennessee country where the name of "Broad" was first applied to it. Since there was another "Broad River" which arose in the same Blue Ridge nearly opposite the sources of the French Broad but which runs southeastward into the Atlantic Ocean, it became desirable to distinguish in some way these two "Broad Rivers." Then the name of "French" was added to the western river. The disignation of it as "French" is due to the fact that the French, after they had sailed up the Saint Lawrence River and explored the Mississippi River from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, claimed all the country watered by the latter stream's tributaries on its east as well as on its west and erected on those eastern tributaries forts, trading-posts, and mission-stations, so that the region between the Mississippi River and the Blue Ridge was commonly spoken of as French territory and its water courses as French waters. Thus we have the French Broad River, which runs into the Mississippi River through the Tennessee and the Ohio rivers, as distinguished from the (English) Broad River which ultimately reaches the Atlantic Ocean.

"From the head of the southern branch of the Savannah river, it does not exceed half a mile to a head spring of the Mississippi water that runs through the middle and upper parts of the Cherokee nation, about a northwest course, and joining other rivers, they empty themselves into the great Mississippi. The above fountain, is called 'Herbert's Spring': and it was natural for strangers to drink thereof, to quench thirst, gratify their curiosity, and have it to say they had drank of the French waters."[57]

"By prior discovery, if not by conquest or occupancy, France claimed the whole valley of the Mississippi. Louisiana stretched to the head springs of the Alleghany and Mon-

[57]Adair's American Indians, 1775, 231.

ongahela, of the Kenawha and the Tennessee. Half a mile from the head of the southern branch of the Savannah river, is Herbert's spring, which flows to the Mississippi: Strangers who drank of it would say they had tasted of 'French waters.' This remark of Adair may probably explain the English name of the principal tributary of the Holston. Traders and hunters from Carolina, in exploring the country passing from the headwaters of Broad river, of South Carolina, and falling upon those of the stream with which they inosculate west of the mountain, would hear of the French claim, as Adair did, and call it, most naturally, French Broad."[58]

"The river *French* Broad, is another notable memorial of the encroachments of the French, at this period, upon English territory."[59] In an edition of Morse's American Geography, published in London in 1782, the French Broad River is called in the text (page 410) the "Frank," that is "Frenchman" river, while the prefixed map, names that stream "Broad R." This word "Frank" points conclusively to the fact that the name French Broad referred to French ownership as asserted at one time theretofore. The same name is used in the Edinburgh 1795 edition of the same work.

"In the early settlement of the country, a party of hunters left what was then Mecklenburg for the mountains. They named the first river they came to First Broad, the next Second Broad, and the third Main Broad. Arriving at the foot of the mountains a portion of the party stopped; and the other crossed the Gap, and going down a creek, in what is now Buncombe and Henderson, called it Cane Creek, on account of the quantity of cane at its mouth. The stream into which it empties they called French's Broad, after the captain of their party."[60] This statement is wholly fanciful. It has no truth in it unless in regard to the route travelled by hunters from a certain part of the North Carolina lowlands and in regard to the name of Cane Creek. French Broad was never called French's Broad. The French Broad could not have received that name later than 1763; since it

[58]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853, 45.
[59]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 392.
[60]Colton's Mountain Scenery, 1859, 75.

was in that year, by the Treaty of Paris, that France conceded to Great Britain all the territory through which the French Broad runs together with other territory. The French Broad River could not have acquired that name much prior to 1763 for in 1767 Colonel William Tryon, Governor of the province of North Carolina, in obedience to royal direction, caused the line to be run and located "Between the Frontiers of the Province of North Carolina and the Cherokee Hunting Grounds to avoid all further dispute." This line was as follows: "Beginning at a Waughoe or Elm tree on the South side of Reedy River Standing on the Bank of the River where the South Carolina line Terminates and runs thence a North Course about Fifty Three Miles into the Mountains to a Spanish Oak marked with the Initial Letters of the Commissioners names and several other Trees with the names and marks of Juds Friend Sallowee Ecoy and others standing on the Top of a mountain called by us Tryon Mountain on the head Waters of White Oak and Packet (once in those proceedings called "Packolato"[61] creeks, White Oak running into Green River and Packet running into Broad River and as it was found Impracticable that a Line should be Run and marked through the Mountains to Colo Chiswell's Mines it is further agreed between the said John Rutherford Robert Palmer and John Frohock Commissioners as aforesaid in behalf of his most Excellent Majesty and the said Alexander Cameron esquire Deputy Superintendant as aforesaid and Juds Frend Tufftoe Sallowee Ecoy Chenesto and the Wolf of Keowee in behalf of themselves and the head Beloved Men and Warriors of the Cherokee Nation that the Line between the Frontiers of the Province of North Carolina and the Cherokee Hunting Grounds be continued as follows, Running from the Top of Tryon Mountain aforesaid, Beginning at the marked tree thereon by a direct Line to Chiswell's Mines in Virginia—Shall and is hereby declared to be the Boundary line between the said Frontiers of North Carolina and the Cherokee Hunting Grounds."

A deed was executed accordingly. In a letter of July 15,

[61]Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 853.

1767, to the Board of Trade, Governor Tryon reported this work saying: "The line was begun and run from where the dividing line between South Carolina and the Cherokee hunting grounds terminated on Reedy River, steering a north course into the mountains, computed to be sixty miles from the said river. Upon finding it impossible to proceed over the mountains, it was agreed in the above mentioned deed, that a direct line from the mountains they stopt at (named Tryon mountain) to Chiswell's mines, should with the line they actually ran, be the boundary between this province and the Cherokee nation: This line it is supposed will run along the ridge of the blue mountains, its course, to the eastward of north, and the distance sixty or seventy miles from the mountains to the mines."

In another letter from the same governor to Earl Shelburne, July 14, 1767, the writer says: "Mr Rutherford told me that some of the head springs of the western waters that lead into the Mississippi were not more than three or four miles to the westward of where the line stopt, on a mountain of the blue ridge, which they named Tryon mountain, alluding perhaps to the province's expectations of stretching hereafter further to the westward.

"The Cherokees while I was with (them) honored me with the name of Ohaiah Equah, or Great Woolfe, a name the Commisioners made familiar to them, in their talks to the indians."[82]

From this reference to "the western waters that lead into the Mississippi," and the failure to mention the French Broad, as well as from the erroneous impressions of Governor Tryon as to the course of the mountain range to which he refers and as to the distance from Tryon Mountain to streams feeding the Mississippi, it may well be inferred that the country west of the Blue Ridge had, up to that time, become little known and that the governor of North Carolina had never heard of the French Broad River. The commissioners must have known when they crossed Pacolet, however, that they had left to the north and west of their line some waters which ran into the Atlantic Ocean. Apparently the first published mention of the stream of the French

[82]7 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890.

Broad was in 1762 in Timberlake's Memoirs, 1765, 99. The next mention is in a letter from Alexander Cameron, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to his principal, John Stuart, dated June 1, 1766, in which he speaks of the Tennessee part of the river by the name of "Broad river," using that name as Timberlake did.[63] It seems that the first published mention of the stream by the name of "French Broad" is in a resolution of the North Carolina Senate on December 21, 1777.[64]

The Indians had no name for the Swannanoa River. Numerous origins have been given for the name Swannanoa. Sometimes it is said to be a Cherokee word meaning "beautiful"; sometimes a Cherokee word meaning "nymph of beauty;" sometimes a Cherokee attempt to imitate the sound made by the wings of ravens or vultures flying down the valley; sometimes a Cherokee attempt to imitate a call of an owl seated in a tree on the banks of the stream; while James Mooney says that the word is derived, by contraction, from two Cherokee words Suwali Nun-nahi, meaning "Suwali Trail," that is, trail to the country of the Suwali, Suala, or Sara Indians, who lived in North Carolina at the eastern foot of the Blue Ridge, and that this trail ran through the Swannanoa Gap.[65] None of these is correct. Swannanoa does not mean "beautiful" or "nymph of beauty" and does not resemble any possible sound made by a raven or vulture at any time or any call of any North Carolina owl. It is not a Cherokee word and could not be produced by a contraction of Suwali Nun-nahi. Swannanoa is merely a form of the word Shawano, itself a form of the very common words Shawnee, the name of a well known tribe of Indians. These Shawanoes were great wanderers and their villages were scattered from Florida to Pennsylvania and Ohio, a village usually standing in the country of some other Indian tribe. They had a village in Florida or southern Georgia on the Swanee or Suanee River, which gets its name from them. Another of their towns was in South Carolina a few miles below Augusta, on the Savannah

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[63]7 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1890, 215-217.
[64]12 State Records of North Carolina, 1895, 239.
[65]Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 57; Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, 1902, 532, 380, 409, 195.

River which separates South Carolina from Georgia. This was "Savannah Town," or, as it was afterwards called "Savanna Old Town." The name of "Savannah," given to that river and town is a form of the word "Shawano," and those Indians were known to the early white settlers of South Carolina as "Savannas." The Shawanoes had a settlement on Cumberland River near the present city of Nashville, Tennessee, when the French first visited that region. From those Indians the French, who were the earliest white men to go there, called the Cumberland River the "Chouanon," their form of Shawano. Sewanee in the same State has the same origin. At first the Shawanoes were friendly to the white settlers;[66] but later they became unfriendly.[67] The wars of the Shawanoes against the white settlers were more frequent, more persistent, and more fiercely waged than were the wars of any other native American tribe. They boasted that they had killed more white people than had any other Indians. Their hostility in a great measure ended, however, with the death of their greatest chief, Tecumseh. They once had a town on the Swannanoa River at its mouth, from which they seem to have been driven by the Cherokees between 1735 and 1750. The first published mention of this town was on September 28, 1776 at the time of the Rutherford Expedition when it was said that General Griffith Rutherford, with three thousand men had marched "through the Main pass of the Mountains on the first day of this instant and we have since learned that he reached Swanano the next day without the least interruption from the savages."[68] This implies that "Swanano" was then a well known locality and probably a town at that time or formerly inhabited by Indians. From other things it appears to have been deserted some time before. The name "Swanano" being so slight a variation from Shawano; the fact that there are in the accounts of those days frequent references to the presence of Shawanoes in that region and that they were unfriendly then to the Cherokees, once their friends, who, about that time, drove or helped to drive

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[66]2 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 532; Lawson's History of Carolina, 1860, reprint, 75.
[67]Logan's History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, 460-480.
[68]11 State Records of North Carolina, 1895, 354.

Shawano inhabitants from the Cumberland River and, it is said, from the Savannah River; the further fact that unmistakably there had once been an Indian town at the mouth of Swanannoa River where there is no evidence or tradition that the Cherokees or any Indians other than the Shawanoes ever resided and that near the site of that town is an Indian burying ground of the Shawano kind unlike any Cherokee burying place;[69] the further fact that there is said to have been a Shawano town on headwaters of Santee River, probably the Catawba or the Broad, another near by Broad River, Broad River being a former name of the French Broad; the further fact that an Indian tradition of the Cherokees connects the name of the Swannanoa River with the Shawanoes; and the further fact that a North Carolina grant in August 7, 1787 to William and James Davidson for land on both sides of Swannanoa River now occupied in large part by the enlarged City of Asheville (once by Asheville, Kenilworth and Biltmore in part) and covering a large portion of the old Indian town at the mouth of Swannanoa River, calls more than once, for that river by the name of "Savana" river, an admitted form of Shawano; all these facts prove that the Swannanoa River's name was derived from the Shawanoes.[70] An early writer mentions "the pleasant meandering Savanah River; so termed on account of the Shawano Indians having formerly lived there, till by our foolish measures, they were forced to withdraw northward in defence of their freedom."[71] The De Lisle map (1707 edition) entitles the Savannah River "R. des Chaouanons" and a town on both banks about midway of its course "Chaouanons."[72]

Speaking of Indians migrating, "And to this day, they are a shifting, wandering people; for I know some Indian nations that have changed their settlements many hundred miles, sometimes no less than a thousand, as is proved

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[69]Thomas's Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times, 1890, 39-41; 12 Report of the Beareau of Ethonology, 1894, 690-695.

[70]Benjamin Drake's Life of Tecumseh, 1852, 11-12; Mooney's Myths of The Cherokee, 1902, 370-378, 70-74, 55, 157, 234, 461, 105, 136, 14, 15. 31, 32, 38. 384. 66-67. 99, 151, 143, 486-487, 437, 370, 378, 235, 18, 19, 494, 496; Sondley's Origin of the Catawba Grape and Other Sketches, 1918, 19-24; M. V. Moore's Rhyme of the Southern Rivers, 1897, 36; Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 38-39; 2 William Gilmore Simms's Poetical Works, 1853, 17, "Sonnet by the Swannanoa"; William Martin's Lyrics and Sketches, 1861, 95, "Swanano River."

[71]Adair's American Indians 1775, 340.

[72]2 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, 1886, 295.

by the Savanna Indians, who formerly lived on the banks of the Mississippi, and removed thence to the head of one of the rivers of South Carolina, since which, for some dislike, most of them are removed to live in the quarters of the Iroquois or Sinnagars, which are on the heads of the rivers that disgorge themselves into the bay of Chesapeak."[73]

"De l'Isle's map of 1700 places the 'Ontouagannha,' which here means the Shawnee, on the headwaters of the Santee and Peedee Rivers in South Carolina, while the 'Chiouonons' are located on the lower Tennessee River. Senex's map of 1710 locates a part of the 'Chaouenons' on the headwaters of a stream in South Carolina."[74] These statements of Lawson and De l'Isle seem to refer to a Shawano town somewhere in northern South Carolina the location of which and the stream on which it stood were not certainly known. As the South Carolinians then claimed much of western North Carolina it is not unreasonable to suppose that this Shawano town was the town at the mouth of Swannanoa River. Indeed some head streams of Broad River are in North Carolins about twenty-five miles from the old town at the mouth of Swannanoa River. "Lawson in his history of Carolina in 1708, speaks of the Savanoes, removing from the Mississippi to one of the rivers of South Carolina. Gallatin quotes an authority which sustains Lawson, and which establishes the fact that at a very early period in the history of the south, there was a Shawanoe settlement at the head waters of the Catawba or Santee, and probably of the Yadkin."[75] In this statement the uncertainty of the river referred to, the close proximity of the French Broad, the claims of South Carolina to parts of French Broad, the absence of any record of Shawano settlement on Broad River or Catawba River, the name Swannanoa, all seems to point to the Shawano town on the French Broad at the mouth of Swannanoa River in a region then little known to the whites.

This Indian town of Swannano seems to have existed throughout the period of the Spanish claim and throughout most, if not all, of the period of the French claim and to have been abandoned by the Shawanoes about 1730. Actual

[73]Lawson's History of Carolina, 1860 edition, 279-280.
[74]2 Hodges's Handbook of American Indians, 1910, 532.
[75]Benjamin Drake's Life of Tecumseh, 1852, 11-12.

occupation of the country by North Carolina white people commenced about fifty-five years later. It began in murder that of Samuel Davidson, by the Cherokees. Buncombe was born in blood. Graves of Indians slain by other Indians served as a landmark for the location of her county town, now Asheville. The name of the Swannanoa points to a native town desolated, it appears, by hostile oborigines. Spain's claim to the country was lost in battle. The French assertion of ownership met a like fate. British dominion disappeared in war. When Buncombe abjured a governmental association which had grown oppressive and obnoxious to her people invasion and ravage followed in which her property was destroyed and many of her sons perished in futile struggles for freedom. As De Soto's expedition and those of Pardo and Boyano seem not to have gone to the Swannano town and Needham and Arthur did not visit it, the probability is that all these expedition did not come down Swannanoa River but, passing through Hickorynut Gap gorge and proceeding westward, they left the town of Swannano to the north and on their right and crossed French Broad higher up.

The Swannanoa River is entirely in Buncombe County and rises in the Black Mountain section of the Blue Ridge and runs a westardly course for twenty or twenty-five miles until it empties into the French Broad River at Asheville. Formerly the stream was famous for its beauty of scenery.

Other tributaries of the French Broad are as follows:

Davidson's River got its name from Benjamin Davidson, one of the first settlers on its waters, and it was originally called "Ben Davidson's Creek."

Mills River was so named for William Mills, whose residence was on Green River in Rutherford County, North Carolina. He was born on James River in Virginia, November 10, 1746, and died at his home in Rutherford County, November 10, 1834.

Little River, of course, was named for its size.

Green River was named for the appearance of its waters in gorges.

Muddy Creek got its name from its sluggish and muddy current and at one time was called "Little River."

Clear Creek was so named because usually it was clear.

Cane Creek was so called because of the great quantities of cane growing along its banks. On its waters at "The Meadows," or "Blake Place," originated the famous Catawba grape.

Several streams flow into Swannanoa River on its northern side as follows:

Ross's Creek named for a man called Ross who lived at or near its mouth. In later years it has been known as Chunn's Cove Creek because a place on its upper waters, once the residence of Col. Stephen Lee and the site of his famous school, and now the Armstrong farm, was at one time the property of Col. Samuel Chunn, and came into prominence as the scene in 1840 of a noted political debate between two candidates for governor of North Carolina, John M. Morhead and Romulus M. Saunders.

Haw Creek, called originally Whitson's Creek from Major William Whitson who settled the place at its mouth, now the home of Mr. Frank Reed, and next called "T. T. Patton's Mill Creek" when Mr. Patton had a mill at the same place; and now called Haw Creek because in 1860 there grew on its banks many black haw (Viburnum) bushes.

Grassy Branch, the origin of whose name is obvious and which enters Swannanoa River at Azalea.

Bull Creek gets its name from Bull's Gap, out of which it runs, and Bull's Gap was so named because in it Joseph Rice, the first settler on the upper waters of the creek killed a buffalo bull, the last buffalo seen wild in Buncombe County.

"There is abundant testimony that the buffalo were numerous in the Piedmont region of Virginia and Carolina at least as late as 1730, and in the Ohio Valley and Tennessee until after the close of the French and Indian War (1763) and did not finally disappear from this central basin until 1810."[75½]

Bee Tree Creek, on which was made the first settlement of white people, known as the "Swannanoa Settlement," in southwestern North Carolina as that State is now, was so named because one of those first settlers found a bee tree

[75½] James Mooney's Siouan Tribes of the East, 1894, 11. On the American buffalo (bison) see 1 Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, 1907, 169-170.

standing on its banks, but when he cut down the tree in order to obtain the honey, the tree fell across the creek and split open so that the honey escaped into the water of the creek and was lost. The exact place of this occurrence is not known now. The "North Fork" of Swannanoa was much resorted to by hunters in early days because of the great quantity of game for which it was famous. The "South Fork" of Swannanoa River on which are now the towns of Ridgecrest, Montreat, Black Mountain, and Blue Ridge, is also called "Flat Creek." Christian Creek probably got its name from the fact that on it Samuel Davidson the first white man ("Christian") who attempted to settle in Western North Carolina, built his cabin and lost his life. The very peculiar names of some of the streams which become part of French Broad River, enter that river from the west and southwest was explained about 1885 by the late William Camp, a very old and intelligent surveyor of northern Spartanburg County, South Carolina, as follows:

For many years, before and after the Revolutionary War, the dividing line between the western parts of North Carolina and South Carolina had not been located. The country from some miles south of Greenville, South Carolina, to Swannanoa River, North Carolina, was in consequence, disputed. Over this region, and even to the north of it, South Carolinians made hunting tours. Before that war one of the South Carolina hunting parties visited the French Broad and crossed a short distance above the mouth of Swannanoa. In their hunt they camped the first night on an unnamed stream tributary to the French Broad. Having hominy for supper they named the creek on which they were encamped, "Hominy." Next they encamped on another stream of which they had never heard and named it "Newfound." Next night, they encamped on a third tributary of the French Broad not known to them and having for supper some wild turkeys which they had killed they called this third unknown creek, "Turkey Creek." Further on they encamped the next night on a fourth unknown tributary of the French Broad; and on account of getting sand in some mush which they had for that supper, they named this fourth creek, "Sandymush." On the other side of French Broad going from

Swannanoa north the first stream of considerable size passed is one crossed two or three times by Southside Avenue and now known as "Cripple Creek." At the time when the county town of Buncombe County was located this stream was called in 1793 "Big Branch." Later it was named "Gash's Creek" because a man named Gash lived on it near Biltmore Avenue and Choctaw Street where was afterwards for many years the Gash burying-ground.

Through the northern portion of Asheville runs a branch once known as "Nathan Smith's Creek." About 1902 Mr. H. A. Lindsey knocked off a piece from an outcropping rock just north of Magnolia Street and found inside several small nuggets of coarse gold. Before reaching the French Broad this creek joins another creek, which last creek, then called Glen's Creek, runs through Grove Park and enters the French Broad just south of the "Casket Plant."

Next north is "Beaverdam Creek," the beaver dams which led to its name being, it is said, at different places in the creek. Then on north, after passing "Davis's Branch," called for John Davis who lived on it opposite to Montrealla, is "Reems Creek" which is called for a man named Reems whom the Indians killed on a rock in that stream about the old Woolen Mill, southeast of Weaverville.

Next north is "Flat Creek," so called no doubt, because of the character of the land on its upper waters.

Then "Ivy River" enters French Broad a mile or two above Marshall and undoubtedly got its name from the ivy (Kahuia) which grew abundantly on its banks.

Laurel River which enters French Broad below Marshall unquestionably was named for the laurel (Rhododendron) growing on its banks.

Spring Creek was named from the fact that it runs into French Broad from the southwest at the Warm Springs. Those celebrated springs were discovered in 1778 by Henry Reynolds and Thomas Morgan, sentries on the outposts of Tennessee settlements, who were in pursuit of stolen horses. For a long time after North Carolina had ceded to the United States the territory which (substantially) now forms the State of Tennessee, in 1790, the people of the ceded lands claimed that these springs were included in the cession. In

fact, the first grant for the land where these springs are was made by the State of Tennessee. Until 1886 they were known as the "Warm Springs." In that year the Southern Improvement Company bought them and changed the name to "Hot Springs."

When the white settlers first came to that mountain region which includes most of the County of Buncombe, that region had in its larger streams large quantities of fish and in its forests vast number of game and wild animals.

A shoal in a river where fish-traps or fish baskets could be conveniently built and maintained was a very desirable property. Every morning visits to such fish-traps would yield a quantity of fish, sometimes large barrels would be required to hold the fish so taken in a single morning and they were distributed gratuitously throughout the neighborhood for miles around. A favorite mode of catching fish was to place a board across one end of a large canoe and cover that board several inches thick with earth. On this earth a fire of burning rich pine knots would light the fishing party one or two of whom would stand in the canoe while the others gently propelled the vessels through deep water of the river with paddles The man who stood up was armed with a long straight pole two or three inches in diameter to one end of which was attached a piece of iron with two or three prongs. The instrument was called a "gig." When the holder of the "gig" saw a fish in the water he would spear it with his "gig." Large qquantities of fish would be secured by this means in a few hours.

Hunting easily furnished the meat to last a family for days when but a little time was consumed in the hunt. The skin of the slaughtered animals would supply comfortable clothing or could be exchanged with traders for needed goods. Captain Thomas Foster, who first cleared and settled where Biltmore is, said that in his youth he would go out early in the morning to hunt his horse turned out to graze during the night on cane or wild peavines and take his rifle along. On the way he would, almost always when meat was needed, shoot a deer, leave it until he found the horse, return by the place where he had left the deer and carry the dead animals on his horse to his home by break-

fast time. Buffaloes disappeared a few years after the first settlement was formed. Not long after elks were no longer to be found. Panthers (puma or cougar) were last seen in that section when two were killed in one tree by hunters named McKinney on Panther Branch of Ivy River about 1835. Virginia deer had become scarce in 1855. Black bears, wolves, lynxes and raccoons were about the same time to be rarely found and then almost nowhere except in the high mountains.

The people of the early times in Buncombe's territory supplied most of their needs at home. Their lights at night were ignited pine knots and with the more prosperous candles made of beef tallow and rarely lamps composed of iron cups with handles in which cups were hogs' lard and projecting therefrom a wick saturated with the lard and lighted at the outer end. As yet petroleum or coal oil and its products, that tremendous agency of modern civilization had never been applied to useful purposes and electricity, the still more powerful natural substance of even greater utility, was known only in its harmful manifestations. Here, as usually elsewhere, illuminating gas preceded electricity for lighting.

Wood was abundant and was the only fuel known in Western North Carolina. The winters in North Carolina appear to have been longer and more severe in the early days of white occupation than in later years. "Anno 1703, Albemarle Sound was frozen over."[76] In the times of the early white settlement of Western North Carolina winters were often exceedingly cold. On one occasion in the second quarter of the nineteenth century a four-horse wagon carrying a full load of hay and drawn by four horses was driven across French Broad River on the ice at what is now Alexander. In the first week of January 1879 Swannanoa River, then much larger than now, was frozen over throughout its length with ice so thick that it easily supported loaded wagons crossing, while the still freezing ice, heaped up three feet or more above the surface, from time to time cracked with noises as loud as those caused by the discharge of a cannon. Throughout the months of January and February, 1918, the ground was covered with ice and travel-

[76] 1 Williamson's History of North Carolina, 1812, 177, note.

ling was difficult and dangerous. In Buncombe's early history and in neighboring regions heavy snows were greater and more frequent than in after years. Some early settlers in what is now Buncombe related that in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, from which they had removed to these mountains, trees cut for firewood during heavy snows would often leave stumps when the snow was gone higher than a man's head. A snow about three feet in depth fell in Buncombe County and remained on the ground in 1866 for nearly two weeks. It covered a sow and her young pigs for some feet on the farm of Mr. Samuel W. Davidson on Swannanoa River. When at last the snow had sufficiently melted to uncover them the sow and pigs were unharmed and lively.

Before men began to manufacture ice wealthy people of Buncombe had ice-houses. These ice-houses were rooms in the ground fifteen or more feet deep covered with a roof reaching to the ground with planked up gables and an entrance having a door at one end. The rooms were fitted up with ladders descending from the doors. A pond in a neighboring branch would usually freeze over to some depth in winter. From it the ice would be cut in large blocks and stored with layers of straw in the ice houses and so preserved for summer use.

As in more rigid climates Buncombe's early winters were seasons of jollity and visiting, sometimes to distances of a hundred miles or more and for two or three weeks at a time. This kept up the intimate relationships in families and among close friends and preserved a higher grade of social culture and conduct, interrupted the monotony of life, and helped to eliminate the selfishness and narrow thought which seclusion engenders and fosters. Thus the early people of Buncombe enjoyed existence with a zest unknown to their successors, and were a population of more modest women and more honorable men.

Log-rollings, house-raisings, corn-shuckings, and quiltings, too well known to need descriptions, were primitive customs in early Buncombe. These things tended strongly to develop in the participants characters of industry, social proclivities, fellowship, and general intelligence which

daily newspapers and radio sets can never produce. The methods then employed in threshing small grain have long since disappeared. A large barn floor, cleanly swept, was covered in a thin layer of the sheaves to be threshed with the bindings cut. Men then beat the grains apart from the straw with instruments called flails. These flails was made by cutting a saplin, usually of white oak and free of knots, eight or ten feet long and twisting these saplins at places in them three or four feet above the longer ends until their lower sections would swing about when men holding the longer ends would strike them with the swinging blows on the straw-covered floor until the grains were separated from the straw. Then the chaff was removed from the grains by putting them into a mill operated by a cranked wheel so as to produce a strong current of air. This machine was called a windmill and would blow the chaff out at one end while the cleaned grains remained in the windmill and could then be easily removed. An outgrowth of the spirit engendered by the genial and friendly habits of the first Buncombeites was the practice of almost universal joking to an extent which at the present day would seem undignified, silly, annoying, and offensive. In every assemblage of men, for business or pleasure, jests and witticisms would characterize the proceedings. Strangers on the highway would greet each other with jocular expressions. Travellers would stop at unknown houses on the roadside merely to exchange jokes. Rarely was offense taken at such familiarity. The passer-by would be deemed a "good-fellow." An instance may serve to demonstrate this.

Mr. Sams lived on French Broad River beside the Buncombe Turnpike a few miles north of Alexander. With him resided his unmarried son, a young man of muscular proportions. In the colder months of the year many droves of hogs, and of cattle, and of horses passed on the way from Kentucky or Tennessee to the Southern markets for sale. One day there went a large drove of horses managed by a stuttering Kentuckian who was not sensitive in regard to his infirmity of speech. This man stopped at the Sams residence, struck up an acquaintance, told a few jokes, and departed on his journey. Later in the season, when he had

sold all his horses except those which were to carry him and his assistants to Kentucky, he returned to that State by the same road. He found the older Sams at work in a small bottom around a bend of the French Broad about one-half mile above the Sams home, and, after some conversation, proceeded on his way. At the Sams residence he saw young Sams standing in the doorway and inquired if it was not his father at work above the bend. Being answered in the affirmative, the stuttering drover said: 'W-w-w-well you had better g-g-g-go and s-s-s-see about him: he's d-d-d-dead." The younger Sams rushed to his father's assistance and found the latter well and at work. Angry at the deception practised upon him in a matter so serious, and determined on revenge, young Sams hurried home, saddled his horse, and started in pursuit. The drovers were well mounted and had increased their speed, so that they were not overtaken until after a pursuit of some miles. When, at last, the pursuer caught sight of them he shouted to them to stop. To this demand they paid no heed until it had been repeated and the distance between them and their followerer much reduced. Again Sams shouted to them to stop. "Wh-wh-wh-what do you w-w-w-want? Answered the stuttering drover. Sams said: "Get down; I'm going to whip you." "Wh-wh-wh-what you going to wh-wh-wh-whoop me fur?" inquired the stutterer. I'm going to whip you for telling me that lie." "Wh-wh-wh-what lie d-d-d-did I t-t-t-tell you? stuttered the drover. "You said that my father was dead," Sams shouted. "W-w-w-well aint he d-d-d-dead?" said the other . "No, he is not dead," yelled Sams. "W-w-w-well, you d-d-d-dam fool are you m-m-m-mad cause your daddy a-a-a-aint dead?" Sams was not destitute of a sense of humor and quickly perceived into what an awkward position his hasty temper had brought him. He shook hands with the joker and returned crestfallen from his long and fruitless pursuit. He told the incident as a good joke on himself.

When the war on the South was in progress this propensity to joke reached its culmination; but when that momentous wrong, with its horrors and crimes, terminated in disaster and ruin to the victims of its iniquities those un-

fortunate people found themselves in a condition where light hearts and jokes were out of place and then the practice of general joking began to wane, and there is left now scarcely a trace of its former prevalence.

In Buncombe's early times a very common, if not the most common, treatment of serious diseases in people and horses was some form of venesection, phlebotomy, or blood-letting. This treatment passed away, as did many other ancient practices, about 1870. Prior to that date every physician and every person who treated horses carried one or more lancets of peculiar shape adapted to puncturing bloodveins. Sometimes the lancet was one of the blades of a pocketknife; at other times it was several lancets of different sizes composing the blades in a single handle. Generally the cutting part of the blade was a sharp semi-disc on one side of the end. This instrument was called a phlebotomy, popularly a phleme. With such a knife a quantity of blood was drawn from the patient large enough to be now regarded as dangerous to life for him or her to lose.

Another method of blood-letting was called "cupping." This was usually applied to the patient's temple and produced a partial vacuum over a certain spot. Commonly a piece of paper was burned in a small glass cup named a "cupping glass' and immediately the mouth of the glass was placed firmly on the spot to be cupped. When the hot air in the glass cooled a vacuum was formed therein which drew the blood by suction. Often the place was first scarified with an instrument like a stamp whose projecting small knives were driven by a blow against the flesh. When this scarification occurred the operation was said to be a "wet cupping"; otherwise it was a "dry cupping." Cupping was supposed to relieve congestion or internal inflamation. The abandonment of this once popular practice of blood-letting forcibly illustrates the decided reversal of ideas which less than a century has brought about in human views and practices.

In those old days every one practised medicine who chose to do so and there were no parades of public examinations in regard to the matter, no general and local medical associations and meetings, no extensive statutes to affect the busi-

ness, no hospitals, no dietitians, no specialists, no high-priced "trained-nurses" imposed on the patient, no verbose charts about immaterials, no quantities of costly drugs to throw away, no "x-ray" and blood tests at the expense of the sick person, no extra aids mechanical and professional at like expense—in short none of those numerous, onerous and irritating concomitants which render employment of medical treatment one of the greatest afflictions and curses of sickness in later times exhaustive of the patient's property, and especially none of those physicians' charges for alleged services at the rate of a king's ransom, in consequence of which the patient or his estate is in imminent danger of irretrievable insolvency and all by reason of laws asserted to be enacted for the exclusive benefit of the sick. And yet, barring a few discoveries of science, it is a matter of grave doubt whether treatments of sick people in modern days are beneficial to sick people as were the former treatments, and whether or not the populer demand for the "old time physician" is not the outcry of unfortunate experience, and whether or not the character, ability, fidelity, utility, dignity, and worth and reputation of the medical practitioner with his coadjutors has undergone any advancement whatever in the opinion of others since the advent of the new order, and whether or not something of the reverse has arrived. Of course, few rules are without exceptions. Anyhow most sick people long ardently for the "old-time physician and family friend"; but he is hard to find, and threatens to become ere long as much a thing of the past as the mastodon or the pterodactyl.

In speaking of the social habits of the early settlers of Macon County, North Carolina, people partly the same individuals as the early settlers of Buncombe and all men and women of the same customs, Dr. C. D. Smith, who was raised in those days in Buncombe and later lived in Macon, says, in his Brief History of Macon County, 1891, 11-12. "It was the custom in those early days not to rely for help exclusively upon hired labor. In harvesting small grain crops the sickle was mostly used. When a crop was ripe the neighbors were notified and gathered in to reap and shock up the crop. The manner was for a dozen or more men to

cut through the field, then hang their sickles over their shoulders and bind back. The boys gathered the sheaves together and the old men shocked them up. The corn crops were usually gathered in and thrown in great heaps alongside the cribs. The neighbors were invited and whole days and into the nights were often spent in husking out a single crop. I have seen as many as eighty or ninety men at a time around my father's corn heap. If a house or barn or stable was to be raised the neighbors were on hand and the building was soon under roof. Likewise if a man had a heavy clearing it was no trouble to have an ample force to handle and put in heaps the heaviest logs. It was no unusual thing for a man to need one or two thousand rails for fencing. All he had to do was to proclaim that he would have a *'rail mauling'* on a given day, and bright and early the neighbors were on the ground and the rails were made before sundown. This custom of mutual aid cultivated a feeling of mutual dependence and brotherhood, and resulted in the most friendly and neighborly intercourse. Indeed, each man seemed to be on the lookout for his neighbor's comfort and welfare as well as his own. It made a community of broad, liberal minded people, who despite the tongue of gossip and an occasional fisticuff in hot blood, lived in peace and good will one toward another."

Ardent spirits were then in almost universal use among the men. Every prosperous person, not excepting women and preachers, had still-houses for the manufacture of whiskey and brandy. A bar-room was shunned by no one. It was a sort of social gathering-place. The court records show licenses to retail spiritous liquors issued to the most prominent and exemplary members of society and of churches. On November 2, 1800 Bishop Francis Asbury enters in his diary as something rare enough to be recorded that, "Francis Alexander Ramsey pursued us to the ferry, franked us over and took us to his excellent mansion, a stone house: it may not be amiss to mention that our host has built his house, and takes in his harvest without the aid of whiskey." This was in Tennessee near the North Carolina line. The people built their own wagons, harness and saddles and ropes and crockery and nails and lumber and

made their own iron and iron vessels, utensils and tools and even guns, constructed their own barrels, tanned their own leather, built their own mills, made their own shoes and clothes, ground their own flour and meal, made their own cloth, raised their own farm products, and flax, and even manufactured their own knives, hats, cow bells, and powder. When Jacob Byler or Boyler of Reems Creek died in 1804 the inventory of his property filed by his administrator included "Powder mill Irons."

Mills were then of great importance. An early order of the Buncombe County Court in April, 1792 is: "Ordered that William Davidson have liberty to build a Grist mill on Swannanoa, near his saw mill, Provided he builds said mill on his own land." The first settlers carried their grain to "Davidson's Old Fort," now Old Fort to be ground. In January, 1793 it was "Ordered that John Burton have liberty to build a Gristmill on his own land, on a branch of French Broad River, near Nathan Smith's, below the mouth of Swannanoa." This mill was on Glenn's Creek one hundred or two hundred yards from the French Broad River. The late James Gudger, who was brought in his early infancy to his father's residence on Swannanoa just settled, and who, in 1830 and 1835, represented Buncombe County in the North Carolina Senate, told his grandson, Captain James M. Gudger, that when the older Gudger was a very small boy it was customary to send a number of boys with bags of grain to this mill to be ground and leave it there until a month later, when the boys would return with other grain and carry back the meal ground from the first. He further said that usually a man accompanied the party to put on the sacks whenever they fell from the horses; but, on one occasion, as he, then a very small boy, was returning from the mill, with his companions of about the same age, the man, for some reason, was not along, and one of the sacks fell off on the Battery Park hill over which they had to pass; that while here endeavoring in vain to replace the sack a party of Indians came upon them, and from pure mischief, threatened and actually began to hang them; that the boys were badly frightened, but finally the Indians replaced the sack and left them unharmed and they went on their way;

and that the hill was afterwards known throughout the country as the hill where the boys were hung. James Gudger further said that the miller in charge of this mill was named Handlen and he undertook to cultivate a crop on the mountain on the western side of the French Broad; but, when he did not return to the settlement for a long while, his friends became frightened and in a party went to his clearing where they found him killed and scalped and his crop destroyed, and that from this incident that mountain took the name of Handlen Mountain. This mill John Burton, who was the founder of Asheville, afterwards sold, with fifty acres of the land on which it stood, to Zebulon and Bedent Baird. It was undoubtedly the first grist mill in Buncombe County. At that place a grist mill was maintained until 1865.

These early settlers kept geese from the feathers of which, plucked annually or oftener, they made feather beds, then and until near the end of the nineteenth century in almost universal use throughout the entire region. Then the men commonly wore leather breeches or pantaloons made of tanned buckskin with the hair removed and vests (weskits, waistcoats, as they were usually called), of other skins tanned with the hair on and caps made of coon-skins, often with the ringed tail hanging down behind. The old song of "Leather Breeches" refers to the custom of the early settlers in wearing for common use pantaloons made of dressed deer skins:

"Hey! my little boy, who made your breeches?

"Daddy cut them out and mammy sewed the stitches."

On extra occasions of ceremony or publicity their suits were of black "broadcloth" fashioned by tailors. One of the first tailors of Buncombe County, if not indeed the first, was the late Silas McDowell, a gentleman of ability and information, as well as of literary tastes and practices.

The primitive brimless cap of coon-skin soon was superseded in more populous communities by wool hats. On his removal to Buncombe County George Swain began the manufacture of such hats and the business was continued by his son-in-law, William Coleman, until 1865. Ladies of the Rice family living on Bull Creek engaged for years in the

manufacture of summer hats made of bleached rye-straw and produced and sold such hats until about 1866.

In the early days of this mountain settlement and for more than three quarters of a century every woman there was occupied in making almost all the dozens of articles of domestic use employed or needed in her family and regarded such work as an indispensable part of her household duties. Such were the women of the olden type whose unostentatious dignity and devoted industry contributed in equal degree with the labors of the men to the founding and upbuilding of this mountain land and whose training of their sons developed that sterling character once famous in the men of Buncombe. If the lives of those women were more modest and retiring than the lives of the men their labors were more refining and elevating and their influence more enduring and ennobling. If their names are unrecorded their virtues are reflected in every worthy action. All honor to the early women of Buncombe.

In the front of the early stores was generally to be found a wooden box about one foot wide and twice as long filled with thin pieces of flint (not white quartz) about five-eighths of an inch square. These pieces of stone were "gun-flints" to be used in the flint-lock guns of that day. Guns were then loaded from the muzzle by pouring in first the charge of powder driven down to the interior of the breech, by next inserting a wad of paper, cloth, or similar material forced down with a ramroad. Then was inserted the load of lead driven down in the same way. For rifles this load was a round bullet slightly smaller than the bore of the gun and wrapped in the cloth cover then called "patching." For shot-guns the load of shot was put in above the first wad and kept to its place by a second way, usually of paper, pressed down with the ramrod. This ramrod was carried in thimbles under the barrel. The steel lock consisted of a pan protected by a hinged cover and of a hammer which could be drawn back on a hinge equipped with a stop to hold it back until released by a spring trigger underneath. To the front of the hammer was clamped the flint which when the hammer was thrown would emit a spark in striking the cover of the pan and thus igniting the powder with

which the pan was filled and so igniting the powder in the barrel through a small communicating hole and discharging the gun. Later, about 1840 cap-locks replaced flint-locks, flints were discarded, and instead, in locks similar, a small round hat-shaped piece of brass called "percussion cap" covered the upper end of a tube communicating through a small hole with the powder in the barrel. The top interior of the cap was covered with explosive material to be ignited by a blow of the hammer upon the cap and thus through the tube exploding the powder in the barrel and discharging the gun. There were two kinds of these caps, the better kind called "waterproof caps" and the other "G. D. (supposed to mean G'd d-mned) caps," differing little in shape but much in quality.

"*The Early percussion gun-lock,* and the use of percussion powder to supersede the necessity of using flint and steel to ignite the priming of the charge, were the invention of the Rev. Mr. Forsyth of Bellisle; whose advertisement, giving out, as it did, that it was to fire without flint, flash, or smoke, raised the expectation of the sporting public to an extraordinary height." Great improvements on that invention preceded its popular adoption.[77] Forsyth was an Englishman and his invention was English.

The introduction late in the nineteenth century of breech-loading guns using cartridges changed this. The operation of flint-lock guns as described above gave rise to the expressions, "Cut your patching" and "Pick your flint" and Cromwell's injunction to his soldiers, "Trust in God and keep your powder dry." For flint-lock guns, as well as cap-lock guns the powder was at first carried in "powder-horns," formed of cow horns closed at one end with a wooden bottom and at the small end by a removable wooden peg. A leather string fastened to one end passed over the left shoulder of the wearer and fastened in front to the small end of the powder-horn which hung under his right arm. Lead was carried in leather powches similarly suspended from the shoulder.

Skins of squirrels and other small animals were then

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[77]D. P. Blaine's Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports, 1840, 754-756.

tanned with ashes and cut into thongs for shoe-strings and other uses. Usually there dangled from these pouches a small bone tube closed at one end in which to measure a charge of powder for the gun. This measure was called a "charger." A rifle commonly had in the stock a covered brass box containing grease. Often these rifles were made in Buncombe and neighboring counties. Joseph Whitson and others made them in Buncombe and Gillespie in Transylvania (then Henderson and Jackson) County. Some of these guns had great reputations for accuracy.

Every man in that day knew a trade and some of them practised three or more trades. A more independent people or a people more sociable and who lived with more ease it would be impossible to find in any age or any country.

The woods in season produced immense quantities of wild fruits, such as chestnuts, chinkapins, hickorynuts, walnuts, beechnuts, hazelnuts, filberts, strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, serviceberries, plums, crabapples, and others, suited for foods or readily converted into preserves and jellies for winter consumption. The people cultivated wheat, rye, oats, corn, buckwheat, flax, and indigo, apples, berries, peaches and pears. At first the soil would not produce wheat; and it is said that a Mr. Stroup, living on Swannanoa River, raised the first wheat produced in the county. The tradition is that for a long time corn raised in the Buncombe country would not serve successfully as seed to be planted for another crop until the late Mr. James Gudger produced corn from that region which would make good seed. No inconsiderable source of income to the early settlers in Buncombe County and in all the remainder of the country now comprising North Carolina west of the Blue Ridge was the immense quantity of useful and merchantable herbs growing wild in the woods and mountains. When these people were not otherwise employed they spent much time in the profitable labor of digging these herbs and drying them for market. From the first settlement until about 1870 the principal commercial article of this character was ginseng (*Panax quinque folium*), commonly known as "sang." Until by this constant annual gathering the plant was exhausted at about the date last mentioned, it abound-

ed throughout the forests and was collected, washed, dried and sold every year in vast amounts to traders who carried it to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, whence it was shipped to China.[78] At last the extremely profitable nature of the "Sang" industry proved its destruction. This very peculiar and most interesting plant is now rarely, if ever, met with anywhere in the country, and its extinction is a striking example of uncontrolled greed, especially on the part of the least industrious members of new communities, who regard all wild products as common property to be appropriated and even wantonly abused without right or restriction.

Speaking of Jonathan's Creek in Haywood County, North Carolina, Col. A. T. Davidson says: "The manufacture and trade in gin sing was begun on this creek by Dr. Hailen, of Philadelphia, who employed Nimrod S. Jarrett and Bacchus J. Smith, late of this county, (Buncombe), to conduct the business. It was abundant then and very profitable, the green root being worth about seven cents a pound. A branch of this business was established on Caney river, in Yancey County. I well remember seeing the great companies of mountaineers coming along the mountain passes (there were no roads then only as we blazed them), with packed horses and oxen going to the 'factory,' as we called it; and it was a great rendezvous for the people where all the then sports of the day were engaged in, such as pitching quoits, running foot races, shooting-matches, wrestling, and sometimes, a good fist and skull fight. But the curse and indignation of the neighborhood rested on the man who attempted, as we called it, 'to interfere in the fight, or double-team, or use a weapon.'"[79]

This ginseng business was at its most prosperous period when Charles Lanman passed through these mountains in 1848, and many people were then engaged in the trade.

At the time when the early settlers arrived most of the river valleys and many of the mountains were prairies and destitute entirely of trees and shrubs. Gradually most of these wastes have, except where kept under cultivation, become covered with forests. Indigo and flax long since

[78]See Charles Lanman's Letters from the Alleghany Mountains, 1849, 123, 124; 2 Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851, 52.
[79]Reminiscences of Western North Carolina, the Lyceum, January, 1891, 5-6.

disappeared from the farms. Of course this mountain land was originally without roads and the construction there of all ways of communication was slow and expensive and while the settlements were few and small such construction was small and of the most inferior character. Even the more pretentious "turnpikes," when at last they appeared, would now be deemed impassable. Church and schools were then of the most primitive kind.

The earliest grants now known which issued for lands in that mountain country were dated August 7, 1787 and were for lands described as in Burke County or in Rutherford County. Numerous other grants prior to that time, have been issued for lands on the Swannanoa River and near by, since the lands granted by them in that vicinity are mentioned in the grants of 1787; but such other grants are not registered in Buncombe County. In fact it seems that those of 1787 have not been so registered. They are a grant to William and James Davidson on which is now some of the southern part of Asheville, and a grant to William Moore for land on Hominy Creek.

At a period before this time the Swannanoa River was recognized as the dividing line down to French Broad of the territories west of the Blue Ridge between Burke County on the north and Rutherford County on the south. In 1785 Joseph McDowell, Jr., ran this dividing line, "Beginning at the west point of the line that formerly divided the above said counties, (Rutherford and Burke), thence west to the Indian boundary as in the Act of Assembly of the seventeenth of May one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three." This "Indian boundary" was Big Pigeon River. McDowell's line crossed Swannanoa River from south to north about a half mile above Biltmore Avenue. In 1788 this survey was adopted by the State legislature.[80]

Charles II, King of Great Britain and Ireland, granted on March 24, 1663 a vast quantity of land stretching across the continent of North America to eight men under the name of Carolina.[81] On June 30, 1665 the same monarch granted and confirmed to the same persons a larger area of

[80]24 State Records of North Carolina, 1905, 957.
[81]1 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 20-33, 155; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 437, 448

lands, including the area so theretofore granted.[82] This included North Carolina and other lands. The grantees in these two grants were known as the Lords Proprietors and the successors bore the same titles. After sixty-four and sixty-six years the then Lords Proprietors conveyed to George II, King of Great Britain and Ireland, all their rights in these lands as sovereigns and all of them, except John Lord Carteret afterwards Earl of Granville, conveyed to that monarch all their rights as owners of itnerests in the lands. Lord Carteret retained his one-eighth interest as owner in the lands. This one-eighth was allotted to him in severalty on September 7, 1744 in a strip of the land bounded on the north by Virginia and on the south by a line parallel to the Virginia southern border, the east boundary being the Atlantic Ocean and the west boundary the Pacific Ocean. The northern and southern boundaries were not surveyed anyhow west of the Blue Ridge.[83] If extended this southern boundary would run through the present Buncombe County, passing near Buena Vista and leaving Asheville and all the northern part of the county and much other land within the Granville territory. When the Treaty of Paris of 1783 between the King of Great Britain and Ireland, of the one part, and the thirteen several American States, of the other part, ended the Revolutionary War, North Carolina claimed this Granville land as having passed to her from the Granville claimants, who were alien enemies, and she granted portions of it to various persons. The alien claimants, however, insisted that under the provisions of that treaty their title was not divested, and brought suit in the United States Court at Raleigh, North Carolina against William R. Davie and others to test the matter. The suit caused great anxiety in North Carolina. The Governor, in a message to the legislature, urged prompt and active attention to it. On trial at Raleigh in 1806 the decision was against the Granville claimants who carried the case, by writ of error, to the Supreme Court of the United States where, after years, the writ of error was dismissed for want

[82] 21 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 102-114; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 1-12.
[83] 4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 655-663; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, map at end; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 15-30.

of proper prosecution February 4, 1817. Had the Granville claimants won, every title to land in Asheville and in northern Buncombe County would have been invalid unless where matured by adverse possession.[84] John Carteret, was a grandson of George Carteret, one of the Lords Proprietors. He was the son of George Carteret, first Baron Carteret, and was born April 22, 1690. When, on September 22, 1695, his father died John Carteret become Baron Carteret at five years of age. Educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, on July 12, 1756 he was made D. C. L. Dean Swift said of him that "with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, and philosophy than properly became a person of his rank: indeed, much more of each than most of those who are forced to live by their learning will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with." On May 25, 1711, Lord John Carteret took his seat in the House of Lords. During the reign of George I, Lord Carteret held various public appointments and was particularly successful in two or three diplomatic missions in which he brought about peace between Sweden, Prussia, Denmark and Hanover, and he became Lord-lieutenant of Ireland in 1724. When George II. came to the throne in 1727 Lord Carteret received, from time to time, numerous appointments to important positions; and in 1743 he was present at the battle of Dettingen. He became president of the council in 1751, having by the death of his mother, Countess of Granville, on October 18, 1744, become Earl of Granville. After a life spent principally in the public service, he died at Bath on January 2, 1763, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was a man of great learning, being eminent as a classical scholar and "master of all the modern languages."

Such was the man who once owned the territory on which Asheville stands and of which, except a small strip on the south, Buncombe County is composed, John Carteret, Earl of Granville.

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[84] 4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 655-663, 799-800, 698-700; Taylor v. Shufford, 11 n. c. 116, 132; 1 Moore's History of North Carolina, 1880, 53, 450, 455-456; H. G. Connor in University of Pennsylvania Law Review, October 1914, 693, 689; University v. Foy, 5 N. C. 58, 82; Gilmour v. Kay, 3 N. C. 108 263; Weston v. Lumber Co., 163 N. C. 78; Johnson v. Graham & Wheaton, 580-581.

CHAPTER XV

STATE CLAIM, CONTINUED

Buncombe County was formed from parts of Burke and Rutherford Counties. The Journal of the North Carolina House of Commons for Saturday, December 17, 1791 states that:

"Mr. Vance presented the petition of the inhabitants of that part of Burke County lying west of the Appalachian Mountains, praying that a part of that and a part of Rutherford County be made into a separate and distinct county. Mr. Wm. Davidson presented a petition to the same effect, both of which being read, Mr. Vance moved for leave and presented a bill to answer the prayer of the said petitions, which was read the first time, passed and sent to the Senate".

The Senate Journal shows that on the same day the bill was received by the Senate and passed. The law was ratified January 14, 1792. "Mr. Vance" was "Colonel David Vance" of Reams Creek, a representative in the House of Commons from Burke County. "Mr. William Davidson" was "Colonel William Davidson" from Swannanoa just below the present "Biltmore", a representative in the House of Commons from Rutherford County. This act creating Buncombe County is as follows:

"Whereas the western part of Burke and Rutherford Counties are very inconvenient to the court-houses in the said counties, which renders the attendance of jurors and witnesses very bothersome and expensive, and almost impossible in winter season, and in order to remedy the same, Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same.

"That all that part of the counties of Burke and Rutherford circumscribed by the following lines (viz.): Beginning on the extreme height of the Appalachian mountains where the southern boundary of this State crosses the same, thence along the extreme height of said mountains, to where the road from the head of the Catawba River to

Swannanoa crosses, thence along the main ridge, dividing the waters of South Toe from those of Swannanoa into the Great Black Mountain, thence along said Mountain to the northeast end; thence along the main ridge between South Toe and Little Crab Tree to the mouth of said Crab Tree Creek; then down Toe river aforesaid to where the same empties into the Nollichucky river, then down the said river to the extreme height of the Iron Mountain and cession line, then along said cession line to the southern boundary, then along the said boundary to the beginning, is hereby erected into separate and distinct county by the name of Buncombe.

"And for the due administration of justice in said County of Buncombe, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices nominated and commissioned in the said County of Buncombe shall have the same power and jurisdiction as the justices of the peace have in any other county in this State;

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That a court for the said County of Buncombe aforesaid, shall be constantly held on the third Mondays of January, April, July, and October, and their first court shall be held at the house of William Davidson, Esq., on Swannanoa, but the justices of said court may adjourn to any other place more convenient, until a court house shall be built;

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That Philip Hoodenpyl, William Brittain and Lemuel Clayton are hereby appointed commissioners to fix on the most central place in said county for the purpose of erecting a court house, prison and stocks;

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That Benjamin Hawkins, William Whitson and John Patton are hereby appointed commissioners for the purpose of contracting with workmen to erect the necessary public buildings in said county as soon as the commissioners shall fix on the centre;

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to debar the late Sheriffs of Burke and Rutherford Counties as they stood undivided to make distresss for any levies, fees and

other dues now actually due, or owning from the inhabitants of said counties of Burke and Rutherford as they formerly stood undivided in the same manner as by law the said sheriffs or collectors could or might have done if the said counties had remained undivided, and the said levies, fees and other dues shall be collected and accounted for in the same manner as if this act had never been made, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding;

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Sheriffs and other collectors and holders of public money in the said County of Buncombe shall, from time to time, account for and pay into the public treasury of this State, all public money wherewith they shall stand chargeable, in the same manner and under the same pains and penalties as by law any other sheriff and holder of public money are obliged to account in the State;

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That a tax of one shilling on each poll and a tax of four pence on every hundred acres of land shall be and is hereby assessed on the taxable property in the said County of Buncombe for two years, to commence from the passing of this act, and that all persons who shall neglect or refuse to pay aforesaid tax at the time limited for the payment of public taxes shall be liable to the same penalties and distresses as for the non-payment of public taxes, and the collectors of said taxes are hereby required and directed to account for and pay the money by them collected, to the commissioners, aforesaid, after deducting two and a half per cent for the trouble of collecting the same, and in case of failure or neglect in any of the said collectors, each collector so failing or neglecting, shall be liable to the same penalties and recoveries as by law may be had against collectors of public taxes;

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all manner of suits, causes and pleas, whether civil or criminal, commenced or depending in the said county courts of Burke and Rutherford, shall continue and be prosecuted to the final end and determination in the same manner as if this act had never passed;

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the court of the said County of Buncombe shall appoint five jurors to attend at every Superior Court for the district of Morgan;

"And whereas the County of Burke appoints five jurors to attend the Superior Court, and Rutherford court appoints nine jurors to attend the said court, which injustice ought to be altered agreeably to the part taken off each county; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the County of Burke, from and after the passing of this act, shall appoint twelve jurors to attend the Superior Court, and Rutherford seven jurors to attend said court, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the county court of Burke shall be constantly held on the fourth Mondays of January, April, July and October;

"Be it further enacted, That all justices appointed either in the counties of Burke or Rutherford, which now reside in the County of Buncombe, shall exercise their offices in the same manner in the County of Buncombe as they could have exercised them in the counties of Burke and Rutherford as they stood undivided.

"Wm. Lenoir, S. S.
"S. Cabarrus, Sp. H. C.

"Read three times and ratified in General Assembly the 14th day of January, Anno Domini 1792."
(Endorsed on back).

"An act forming the western parts of Burke and Rutherford counties into a separate and distinct county.
"Examined.

J. Graham,
D. Stone."[1]

The very large area thus created into Buncombe County at first included all that is now Western North Carolina south of Mitchell County. So large was it that the County of Buncombe in that early was often called "The State of Buncombe."

The first county in North Carolina was Clarendon County created prior to 1729 and including, besides very much other

[1]Laws of North Carolina, 1821, 680; Hon. T. F. Davidson's Genesis of the County of Buncombe, 1922, 193-197; Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922. 77.

country, the territory originally and yet in the County of Buncombe.[2] In 1739 was created the County of New Hanover, (it having been a precinct of Bath County in 1711 and thus in 1739 became a county) with indefinite western boundaries but apparently extending to the South Seas (Pacific Ocean); and the name of Clarendon as a county had then disappeared. In 1711 there were two counties in North Carolina, Albemarle and Bath, and these two counties were divided into precincts. Bath County had seven precincts, namely: Beaufort, Bladen, Carteret, Craven, Hyde, New Hanover, Onslow.[3] In 1739 an act of assembly converted North Carolina precincts into counties.[3½] This new Hanover County included what became Buncombe County and much more. From New Hanover County (formed as a precinct of Bath County) became in 1734 a precinct and in 1739 it was converted into the County of Bladen, whose western limits were left undefined, but included what became Buncombe County and other lands.[4] In 1749 was formed from a part of Bladen County a new county called Anson, whose western limits were also left undefined, but embraced all that became Buncombe County and other lands.[5] Here the genealogy of Buncombe County is divided into two branches to be again united after her creation and partly therein.

The portion of her territory taken from Burke County may be traced from this point as follows: In 1758 Rowan County was formed from a part of Anson County, and up to the beginning of the Revolutionary War continued in its entirety.[6] From a part of it was formed in 1777 the County of Burke.[7]

That part of Buncombe County which was taken from Rutherford County may be traced as follows: In 1762 was formed from the western part of the County of Anson a new county, in honor of the new queen of England, Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg, wife of King George III., called by the name of Mecklenburg County.[8] In 1768 the

[2]4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, 1200.
[3]3 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886, XIII.; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 183.
[3½]1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908, 257; 23 State Records of North Carolina, 1907, 120.
[4]1 Laws of North Carolina, 1821, 126, 127; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 103.
[5]1 Laws of North Carolina, 1821, 183; 2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 97-98.
[6]Ibid., 192.
[7]Ibid., 273-274.
[8]Ibid., 221-222.

western part of Mecklenburg County was erected into a new county named, in honor of North Carolina's then colonial governor, Colonel William Tryon, Tryon County;[9] but during North Carolina's Revolutionary struggle for independence her people were little disposed to honor the name of their former oppressor, and when, in 1779, this county of Tryon had become inconveniently large it was made into two new counties and the name of Tryon dropped while the eastern new county was named Lincoln and the western new county was named Rutherford, the former in compliment to the American General Benjamin Lincoln and the latter in compliment to the American General Griffith Rutherford.[10]

In 1792, while Colonel David Vance, of upper Reems Creek settlement was a member of the North Carolina House of Commons, and Colonel William Davidson, who lived at the Gum Spring on the south side of Swannanoa River, a hundred or two hundred yards below the later Biltmore, represented Rutherford County in the same body, the original County of Buncombe was formed of the western parts of Burke and Rutherford Counties, with its western border fixed by the eastern boundary of the territory which, two or three years before North Carolina had ceded to the United States and which substantially now comprises the State of Tennessee.[11] Sometimes it is stated that Buncombe County never included the territory of the counties of North Carolina now west of Buncombe. A reference to the act originally creating Buncombe will demonstrate the untruth of that statement by showing that the boundaries given for that county did embrace all southwestern territory of the State to Tennessee, Georgia, and South Carolina. It makes no difference that some Cherokee Indians were living then in part of that territory. This did not prevent the State from providing that the land should be included in one or more of her counties. Otherwise the home of these Cherokees would not have been in North Carolina. The ownership of land in a county by persons, natural or artificial, does not exclude State government.

[9]Ibid., 238.
[10]Ibid., 381.
[11]2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 171-174.

This was even clearer in the case of the Cherokee lands where the State had not only sovereign rights but even owned the soil subject to Cherokee right of tribal occupancy. Moreover the act of 1808 which created the County of Haywood, when the same Indians were at the same places, and all in that county's boundaries, expressly says that Haywood County is formed of "all that *part of the county of Buncombe*" described there.[12]

When North Carolina granted Tennessee to the United States which established a territorial government there, as well as when the State of Tennessee was admitted to the United States in 1796, there were Cherokee Indians living in that territory; but none of these acts were affected by the presence of those Indians to any extent whatever.

From time to time parts of the area of the original Buncombe County were taken away and other counties formed therewith. Thus in 1808 all southwestern North Carolina west of the Buncombe western boundary was taken from Buncombe and made into the County of Haywood.[13] In 1828 the western part of Haywood became the new County of Macon;[14] in 1839 the western part of Macon County became the new County of Cherokee;[15] in 1861 the southeastern corner of Cherokee became the new County of Clay;[16] in 1850 parts of Haywood and Macon Counties became the new County of Jackson;[17] in 1870-'71 parts of Macon and Jackson Counties became the new County of Swain[18]; in 1871-'72 a part of Cherokee County became the new County of Graham.[19]

In 1833 Yancey County was formed from parts of Burke and Buncombe Counties;[20] in 1850 Madison County was formed from parts of Buncombe and Yancey Counties.[21] In 1838 Henderson County was formed from the southern end of Buncombe County;[22] and in 1851 another part of Bun-

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[12]2 Laws of North Carolina, 1821, 1126, 1127, 1128.
[13]Ibid.
[14]2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 144.
[15]North Carolina Manual, 1874, 193.
[16]Ibid., 199.
[17]North Carolina Laws, 1850-1851, 97; North Carolina Manual, 1874, 259; 2 Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851, "Jackson" County, organized in 1851, North Carolina Manual, 1874, 259.
[18]North Carolina Laws, 1870, 1871, 155; North Carolina Manual, 1874, 345.
[19]North Carolina Laws, 1871-1872, 127; North Carolina Manual, 1874, 233.
[20]2 Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1837, 170.
[21]North Carolina Laws, 1850, 1851, 92; North Carolina Manual, 1874, 275.
[22]North Carolina Laws, 1850-1851, 113; North Carolina Manual, 1874, 250.

combe County was added to Henderson County;[23] in 1861 Transylvania County was formed from parts of Henderson and Jackson Counties.[24]

The present Yancey County territory and all that territory taken from that county in forming Madison County were once in Buncombe County, the territory taken in making Mitchell County from Yancey County being territory derived in the creation of the latter from Burke County. Thus eleven counties of North Carolina derive their territories from Buncombe County, mediately or immediately. But since her creation some territory has been added to Buncombe. In 1794 some territory of Rutherford County was added to the southern end of Buncombe County;[25] but this territory Buncombe afterwards lost. In 1842 was formed from the Counties of Burke and Rutherford the new County of McDowell[26] Then in 1925 a part of the territory of McDowell County on Broad River was added to Buncombe County.[26½]

The name of Buncombe was bestowed on that county in honor of Colonel Edward Buncombe, an American officer from North Carolina in the Revolutionary War, who in the Battle of Germantown was severely wounded in consequence of which he died soon after at Philadelphia while a prisoner of war in the hands of the British. He was born of English parents in the island of Saint Christopher (sometimes called Saint Kitts), one of the Leeward group of the West Indian Islands, the son of Thomas Buncombe, as some say in 1742 and other in 1732, May 17; was married in 1766; removed in 1768 to North Carolina to some land in Tyrrell County devised to him by his uncle, Joseph Buncombe; erected there a large residence, which he named "Buncombe Hall"; and began there large farming operations and a course of hospitality which made the place famous. Over a front gateway of the premises he inscribed:

"Welcome all
To Buncombe Hall,"

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[23]North Carolina Laws, 1850-1851, 113.
[24]North Carolina Manual, 1874, 346.
[25]1 Laws of North Carolina, 1821, 766-767.
[26]North Carolina Manual, 1874, 272.
[26½]North Carolina Laws, 19.

a distich probably imitated from that on a public house in London which had been the home of Sir Thomas Stapleton and called "Stapleton Hall," in front of which, after its conversion into an inn, was the sign:

"Ye are welcome all
To Stapleton Hall."[27]

Buncombe Hall was demolished in 1878 by its new Connecticut owner.[28] Buncombe became the chief man of the county. In 1771 he was a colonel of militia, a justice of the peace and a member of the County Court.[29] From May 17, 1774 to February 9, 1777 he was clerk of that court.[30] Once the people of his county unhitched the horses from his carriage and carried him on their shoulders three miles to the courthouse.[31] At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he was elected in September 1775 by the North Carolina Provincial congress at Hillsborough, Colonel of the Minute Men of his county;[32] and on April 15, 1776 by the body at Halifax, Colonel of the Fifth Regiment of North Carolina infantry.[33] He expended much of his private funds in raising and equipping that regiment.[34] After various services, he marched north where he was under General George Washington. He was in the Battle of Brandywine in 1777 and in the same year, on October 4, he fought at Germantown where he was wounded and left on the field for dead. He was then made a prisoner until, as such, he died in Philadelphia, probably because of his wounds, May 16, 1778.[35] On the 17th of that month he was buried, at a spot which cannot be identified, in the "Additional Churchyard" of Christ Church at the corner of Arch and Fifth Streets.[36] The church books say:"1778 ( ) Colo. Buncombe—fever

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[27]Lord Braybrook's note to Pepy's Diary, May 6, 1669, note; 1856, 168; 9 M. Brights Edition, 256, note 8.
[28]Thomas Blount in North Carolina Booklet, December 10, 1902, 28, 30.
[29]8 North Carolina Colonial Records, 1890, 705, 659.
[30]Wheeler's Reminiscences, 1884, 423.
[31]Ibid.
[32]10 North Carolina Colonial Records, 1890, 205.
[33]Ibid., 516-517, 520, 974.
[34]Wheeler's Reminiscences, 1884, 123, 422.
[35]M. D. Haywood's Buncombe in 1 Biographical History of North Carolina, 198-199.
[36]Ibid.

aged 46 years by Mr. Asheton, 1/9/6, May 17, Ground 40/Int. 10/"

The name of Buncombe has become synomymous with empty talk. This grew out of an anecdote told by dozens of writers, scarcely any two of whom agree as to its facts. Some of these numerous versions may be found in:[89]

Probably the correct version is as follows:

"From 1817 to 1823, the district which includes Buncombe was represented in Congress by one not an orator. On one occasion, he attempted to address the House in favor of a bill providing for pensions for militiamen; but a determination not to hear him was manifested. He appealed to the late Mr. Lowndes to interpose in his behalf, intimating that he would be satisfied with the allowance of five minutes for a speech that might be published in the newspapers, and assuring him that his remarks were not intended for the House, but for *Buncombe.* He was gratified, and spoke under the five minutes rule. To the astonishment of the good people of Buncombe, the speech of their representative (a curious specimen of logic and oratory) appeared in the *Washington City Gazette,* covering nearly a broadside of that paper. 'Speaking for Buncombe' (not Bunkum) is a term often applied since to men who waste the time of the legislative bodies in making speeches for the sole purpose of receiving popular applause."[90] The phrase, "talking for Buncombe" became popular; and, without any intention of Felix Walker, its author, to bring about such results, "talking for Buncombe" became a new expression in the English language and brought fame to Felix Walker and to Buncombe County. Yet Felix Walker was not a resident of that

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[89]2 Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851; 1 Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1895; M. D. Haywood in 1 Biographical History of North Carolina; North Carolina Booklet, December 10, 1902; Wheeler's Reminiscences, 1884; 4 Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1886; 8 Ibid.; 1 Ibid.; 7 Ibid.; 10 Ibid.; 1 Ashe's History of North Carolina, 1908; 22 State Records of North Carolina, 1907; 20 Ibid.; 11 Ibid.; 15 Ibid.; 13 Iid.; 12 Ibid.; 2 Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, 1857; 2 Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, 1860.

[90]2 Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851 51-52; 1 Century Dictionary, 1889, 720; Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms, 1896, 82-83; Worcester's Unabridged Dictionary, 1886, 181; Wheeler's Reminiscences, 1884, 56; Webster's New International Dictionary, 1920, 291; 1 New Standard Dictionary, 1918, 353; 1 New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, B 1177; 1 American Encyclopaedic Dictionary, 1896, 668-669; 1 Mackay's Life and Liberty in America, 1859, 159-160; Malet's Errand to the South, 1863, 287; 1 Barere and Leland's Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant, 1897, 198; Schele Devere's Americanisms, 1872, 259; 1 Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1895, 448-449; Home Fun, 1910, 127; 1 Thornton's American Glossary, 1912, 120-122; B. F. Perry's Reminiscences, 18833, 68-69.

[91]2 Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, 1860, 469-670 note.

county. Says Thomas Carlyle, "Speceh which, as we can well see, whether it be speech to the question and to the wise men near, or 'speech to Buncombe' (as the Americans call it) to the distant constitutencies and the twenty-seven millions, mostly fools, will yearly grow more worthless as speech, and threatens to finish by becoming burdensome to gods and men! .... 'Speeches to Buncombe,' and a constitutional battle of Kilkenny cats, which in other countries are becoming tragical and unendurable, may still fall under the comical category. .... America too will find the caucuses, division-lists, stump-oratory and speeches to Buncombe will *not* carry men to the immortal gods."[40]

Judge Haliburton, of Nova Scotia, in a book which he wrote called the "Attache in England," gave a chapter to "Buncombe."[41]

The sound of the word "Buncombe" seems to have a charm in it. Thousands of people repeat the word when they never have heard that there is, in fact, such a locality and have no idea that their expression refers to a county of Western North Carolina. Others seem to find the word equally attractive. For many years the southwestern part of North Carolina was popularly known as the "Old State of Buncombe."[42] Many things in that which have no particular connection with the County of Buncombe are sometimes spoken of by that erroneous appelation. Thus, an old traveller, without any warrant for so doing, informs his readers that there, "The high ridge is known by the name of *Buncombe Mountains.*"[43] No mountains anywhere bear that name. He says too that "Cobalt, combined with arsenic, exists in Buncombe County, at the foot of the mountains near Mackeysville;"[44] although no part of the county ever extended as far east as "the foot of the mountains," and there never was a Mackeysville in Buncombe. In early days the county town was frequently called "Buncombe" and "Buncombe Court-

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[40]Latterday Pamphlets, Parliaments, June 1, 1850, 7-299-300.
[41]2 Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851, 51-52.
[42]J. M. Edney in D. K. Bennett's Chronology of North Carolina, 1858, 95, 62; 2 D. B. Warden's United States, 1819, 365.
[43]2 D. B. Warden's United States, 1819, 365.
[44]Ibid., 369.

house,[45] although that town never had any name except Morris-town and then Asheville.[46]

An excellent road from the vicinity of Columbia, South Carolina, to the mountains was called the "Buncombe Road." Men who, like Felix Walker, lived in other Western North Carolina counties, were not rarely said to "come from Buncombe." Walker makes no reference in his autobiography to his celebrated saying about "talking for Buncombe."

He was of Scotch-Irish extraction and born July 19, 1753, in Hampshire, Virginia, now in West Virginia, the son of John Walker and removed with his father to North Carolina near Kings Mountain. After spending some time in Charlestown, South Carolina, he went in 1775, with Daniel Boone to Kentucky. On his return he was "Clerk of the Court" of Washington County, now in Tennessee. He became an American soldier in the Revolutionary War. In 1779, Rutherford County, North Carolina was created and he became "Clerk of the court" thereof. Later he was a member of the North Carolina General Assembly in 1792, 1793, 1799, 1800, 1802, and 1806.

In 1808, Haywood Couuty, North Carolina was formed and Felix Walker removed to it that year. In 1817 he became a member of Congress and remained such for six years, but was beaten for that place in 1823 by Dr. Robert B. Vance. Then he removed to Clinton, Mississippi, where he died in 1828.

He went to Congress from the Twelfth Congressional District of North Carolina composed of the countries of Burke, Rutherford, Buncombe and Haywood. In his life he was a citizen of territories which have composed seven States and two attempted States of Transylvania and Franklin. See memoirs of a Southern Congressman.[47]

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[45]2 Asbury's Journal, 1852, 481; State Grant to John Gray Blount, November, 29, 1796, Buncombe County Record of Deeds, book 2, page 462; 3 Ibid., 37, 133, 236, 270, 291, 292, 324, 362; Boehn's Reminiscences, 1866, 211, 265, 329; Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 107-114.

[46]Sondley's Asheville and Buncombe County, 1922, 71, 92-93, 89.

[47]1 Journal of American History, 1907; Wheeler's Reminiscences, 1884; 24 North Carolina State Records; 2 Wheeler's History of North Carolina, 1851; Biographical Congressional Dictionary, 1928; 2 Laws of North Craolina, 1821; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, 1853; Sondley's Talking for Buncombe.